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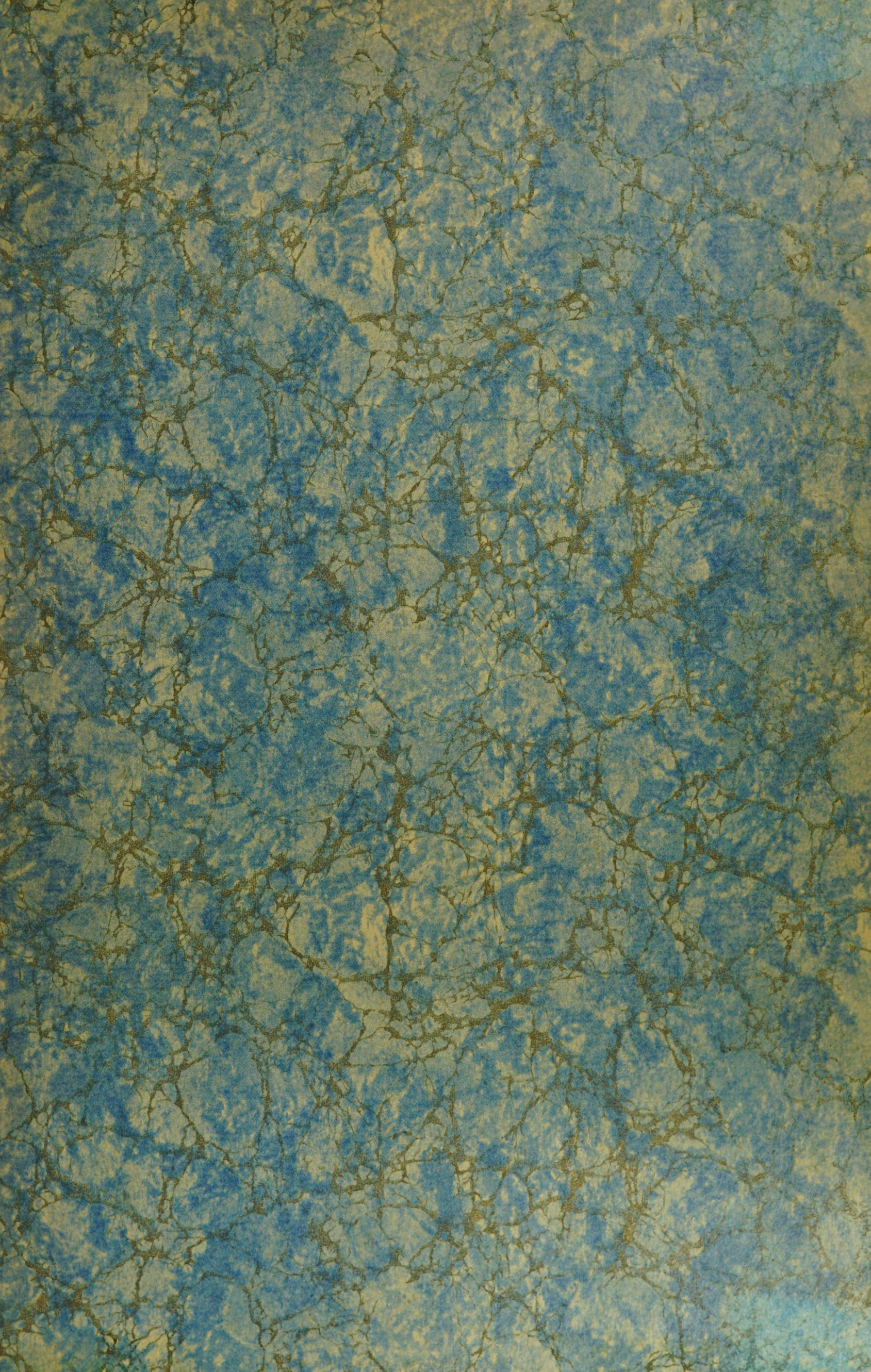


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SPECIAL ETONIAN EDITION

ETON COLLEGE



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LUPTON'S TOWER.

*Frontispiece.*



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# ETON COLLEGE

BY  
CHRISTOPHER HUSSEY

WITH A PREFACE BY  
M. R. JAMES, LITT.D., F.S.A., F.B.A.  
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## PREFACE

I HAVE been asked to write an introductory note to this special Etonian edition of the articles by Mr. Christopher Hussey on Eton College which originally appeared in the pages of *Country Life*; and I do so with pleasure, for I believe, in the first place, that no better or more readable summary of what an Etonian or a visitor to Eton wants to know about the Eton buildings and their contents can readily be found, and assuredly none that is more beautifully illustrated. The topographical pictures in *Country Life* have long been famous, both for the skilful choice of their subjects and the excellence of their reproduction. The present volume exemplifies all their best characteristics, and will remind Etonians of a great deal that is dear to them, and reveal to them much that I fear they may never have seen. There is a second reason which makes me desirous of commending this book to the Etonian public, and, indeed, to all possible purchasers, and that is that the production of it will do something to help certain of those who have suffered in the service of their country.

M. R. JAMES.







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## FOREWORD

**M**OST of the following essays—if such a description may be applied to them—appeared in *Country Life* during the winter of 1921–22. The kindness with which they were received persuaded certain people—among whom, unfortunately, I do not find myself—that they were worth republishing in the form of a book. In endeavouring to justify their confidence, and to make the book as complete as possible within the brief compass that is its chief merit, I have added certain passages, and also written a new essay on the Provost's Lodge. This had already been described during the previous winter by Mr. Herbert Warre, but I have approached the subject quite independently; not because I did not admire Mr. Warre's handling of the matter, but in order to make it fit into the proper place with its companions.

The only respect in which any originality of treatment is to be found in these pages is my attempt to interpret from the buildings and their contents some sort of story, connected only in so far as it applies to the building under discussion in each essay. There are very few fresh facts, for Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte's monumental work has dealt exhaustively with all those available. From that quarry I have carved most of my material, in such quantity that I have made no attempt in the text to acknowledge the source. Willis and Clarke's chapters on Eton, in their architectural work on the Colleges of Cambridge, have yielded much information, while Mr. Austin Leigh's little guide to Eton College has been of great use to me. The Report of the Royal Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments (South Bucks) contains a good inventory of the buildings and has also been of service, while the Provost's Catalogue of the Library was invaluable for the essay on that subject.

My sincere thanks are due to the Provost, who has also been so good as to write a Preface to this the special Etonian edition, for having looked through the proofs in their original form, and to Mr. F. R. G. Duckworth for his charming assistance in the writing of the first two essays. For the rest, every facility has been given by the Governing Body that the best photographs might be taken, and all members of the staff have given me every help that I could desire.

C. H.

June 4, 1922.





## SCHOOL YARD

THE College of Our Lady of Eton lay very fair beside the Thames in the imagination of the Royal architect as he paced Windsor Terrace to and fro. He had slipped away from his venal Court, from tales of fresh disasters over the Channel—strange tales of a witch maiden clad in white steel—and he gazed from his lofty terrace upon the hamlet beneath him clustering round the old church of Eton, and the shaws and sedge meadows stretching away to the north, where the Roman road to Bath from London passed through the Slough. Far below his feet glided the river, which, having put forth all its strength to force the gate of the Chilterns—the King could see them lying blue and hazy to the westward—now meandered slow and stately through Maidenhead and Bray to Staines and the sea. Already in his idealistic mind towers and gardens and pleasant courts sprang from the plain, but, more beautiful than them all, a great church, silvery white among the green fields, filled and inspired his imagination. Upon good ground it should stand—an island of dry gravel amid the alluvial levels of the valley—and girt about by a high wall and by many waters. With a creator's meticulous care he ordained the very trees that should be planted in the garden, the precise dimensions of the cloister, and who was entitled to be buried there; but, likewise, with an artist's indecision, he constantly changed his mind, shifting about towers as though they were mere castles on a chess-board—and from Windsor they looked no larger—even pulling down a choir that had taken seven years in building just to make it broader by five and longer by fifty feet. Eton, in fact, was Henry's plaything, but also much more, for it was, and remains, the child yearned for by his saintly mind, the heir for whom no expense was too great, no trouble unworthy.

Beautiful as imaginary Eton must have appeared from Windsor Terrace, it is none the less lovely to one approaching it from Slough. At first, were you unacquainted with local topography, you might mistake the wide expanses of playing field that lie to the left of the road for some part of the grounds of Windsor Castle which you can see above the tall elm trees in front of you; for of Eton's existence you have little suspicion until you come to Beggar's Bridge, when something of it can be seen among the trees ahead. A little further, however, and you top Fifteen-arch Bridge over the stream called Jordan, and then suddenly Eton is set out before you. In the centre of the tree-framed picture rise the turrets of the chapel and Lupton's Tower with the long line of chapel roof to their right, studded with pinnacles against the sky, and below them stretching to the left where it loses itself amongst elms, the warm confused mass of the College buildings. In autumn the tones and colours are subdued, a wet grey sky reflected in a wet grey road, the buildings a soft variety of browns and yellows, with here and there a streak of orange or a patch of brighter red where turning foliage or a newer tower accentuates the

mellowness of the whole. As you pursue your unaccustomed way past the seven chimneys of Savile House, until you come to the entrance to School Yard, you may be tempted to enquire of one of the boys who hurry past you some outline of the place's history. Surely the mind of a youth, nurtured in surroundings that kings have envied, is steeped in its curious lore; will he not be glad to tell a stranger how Sir Henry Savile printed here his great edition of St. Chrysostom, how jolly Nicholas Udall there expounded Erasmus his apophthegms to young Mary Tudor? Is he not an unnatural son who does not glory in the beauty of his mother? Yet should you make so bold as to disclose your ignorance to a boy, you will find in his reply an ignorance more abysmal and apparently less justified than your own, for Eton quite consciously ignores, and resents being told, its history. Yet this is a venial fault, for so cram full of life is it, so intently is each mind making a history for itself far more vivid than that of the actual past, that nowhere, perhaps, are hearts to be found less in sympathy with things that are gone. Members past and present of this college do not look to history to lend romance; or else why, to many, are the most sacred spots houses of forbidding exterior and of modern construction? Such an edifice they regard with as much affection as if the legends of an age sanctified its walls. And they do so rightly, for to a grown man the few years that separate him from the half-forgotten age that was his youth are equal to as many centuries, and that age is to him as irrecoverable and as legendary as the fabulous days of King Arthur himself.

The present Etonian is far too much engrossed in his own present, the old Etonian with his own past, to be concerned very deeply with remoter history. To you, poor stranger, we can never hope to convey the personal happiness with which apparently ordinary objects inspire us. Bunkers, Rowlands and Tap; Cannon Yard, Science Schools, the very Gasworks—they all have their sweet, or peculiar, savour. Then in the flat, uninteresting land around, what homeric struggles have been waged, games hard lost or won, individually as foggy in our memories as the evenings that ended them: "house ties" on the Field, games on South Meadow by the river or on remoter pieces of ground like Carter's Field or Agar's Plough. Those lower boy runs to Boveney Lock beside the swollen, misty river over slippery tracks, and those happier runs after the beagles round Chalvey, Cippenham or Datchet.

Steaming and glowing, through the damp dusk they still jog home as we did, till the friendly lamps glisten once more on the wet pavement, back to a hot, conversational bath with sore shins and muddy knees, and thighs stiff with running, back to a Gargantuan tea of fried eggs "on a raft," or sausages and chips, warm, doughy bread and smoking toast. That is the kind of history we choose to remember:

The thoughtless day, the easy night,  
The spirits pure, the slumbers light  
That fly th' approach of morn.

Spurned by keen youth, let one of more temperate years take pity on you and, conducting you beneath Upper School into School Yard, there attempt in brief compass to satisfy your thirst for information. Before us lies Lupton's Tower, which, with the buildings that flank it and separate School Yard from the cloisters, was begun in March, 1517, and completed four years later. To the right, or



south, rise the superb buttresses of the chapel, which we will discuss in the next chapter; while on the north side lies Lower School, and behind us, to the west, the seventeenth-century Upper School.

Lower School, as we will call the red brick, battlemented line of buildings that forms this northern side of the Yard, containing the schoolroom, Long Chamber on the first floor, where the young collegers sleep, and the quarters of the master in college, is the only part of School Yard that is in the least degree as Henry VI intended it. His intentions, as a whole, are contained in two important documents, called the *Will*, signed in 1448, and the *Avyse*, dated 1449; of them the former alone gives any information as to the arrangement of the College as apart from the dimensions of the church, but for various causes, which we will enumerate, we have little reason to think that its instructions were ever carried out. In the first place, the only building which corresponds at all to its description in the *Will* is College Hall, begun in 1446. This hall, lying on the south side of the present cloisters, is stated in the *Will* to occupy the same position, but in a great unarcaded court or quadrangle at least three times the size of the present cloister. This quadrangle was to have been the principal court and to have been entered through its northern face by a gate beneath a tower—the principal entry—to be situated apparently somewhere in College Field. Secondly, to the west of the quadrangle and on the site of School Yard, was to have been the cloister, so placed that there would be room for a garden between the back of its southern side and the chapel. The western cloister was, apparently, to have a high tower backing it, as was directed, but never executed, for King's College, Cambridge, and, similarly, was to have no access to or from the Slough road. The northern range of its buildings would, of course, have been considerably further to the north than Lower School, while the eastern side, if ever completed, was demolished in the next century by Provost Lupton.

We cannot, however, rely upon the *Will* as upon an actual builder's contract, for it is tolerably certain that by the date of its execution (1448) the north and east walks of the present cloister, which are simply ignored in the document, were actually completed. It may, therefore, be possible that Lower School was similarly ignored; the whole *Will*, indeed, describing a castle in the air, may be nothing more than the survivor of a series of documents made out rather to amuse a mild monarch than to instruct a contractor.

This assumption is strengthened by an allusion in 1443 to Lower School being recently completed. Thomas Bekynton, sometime secretary to the King, was in that year consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells at an altar erected, at his request, among the foundations of the rising church. After the ceremony he mentions, in his *Correspondence*, a banquet, held in "the new buildings of the College on the North," *i.e.*, of the chapel. The internal evidence also connects it closely in date with the early works already mentioned. The doors, for example, of which the hood mouldings turn back in diamond-shaped stops, are precisely the same as those in the northern and eastern cloisters, while the battlements resemble those of the original kitchen, finished about 1450.

A third, the most important, reason for considering Lower School to be the earliest part of Eton emanates from the practical certainty of its southern face having originally been arcaded. The evidence for this is two-fold. First, there can

yet be seen a course of lead projecting slightly from between two brick courses just below the southern window sills of Long Chamber. In 1876, moreover, alterations in School Yard laid bare the foundations of a brick wall running parallel to, but 10 ft. from, the wall of Lower School. Here are obvious indications of a cloister. As to whether it was ever completed we have no direct evidence, but on two accounts I think we may assume that it was. First, Provost Lupton refers in 1506 to "a new chamber for boys" and in 1514 to "the new school." He undoubtedly means Lower School, but I think we may rest assured that he is referring to alterations. The nature of these alterations is partly certain, for the (unrestored) interior of Lower School windows is just the same as that of the windows in Lupton's undoubted buildings. Let us suggest, if only for argument, that the other alteration was the removal of the arcade.

Our second reason for assuming the completion of the arcade lies in the mere fact of its being begun. That Henry at times contemplated having a cloister there is shown by the *Will*, so that if Lower School was finished, as we have supposed, in 1443, the probability is that it had an arcade. Conversely, an arcade could only have been built before 1443, because the existing cloisters were then begun, and two separate sets of cloisters were never contemplated. Therefore, with some confidence we may assert that Lower School until 1504 had a cloister the removal of which in that year made it look "quite a new building," so much so that Lupton called it a new building.

The demolition was part of a scheme of this Provost's to make School Yard the entrance court to the College. Roger Lupton, who took this important decision, was an ecclesiastical lawyer, Provost of Eton from 1504 until 1535. He was occupied in minor works such as the above until 1514, but in the following year completed the exquisite little chantry that still bears his name in the chapel. In 1516 we hear of him turning his workmen on to demolishing the west side of the present cloister. This was part of the scheme, referred to above, of making an entrance. Henry VI's design of a great tower-surmounted gateway had never progressed further than parchment. The College, therefore, would seem to have lacked an entry on any dignified scale. So it was that, having previously demolished the half-hearted attempt at a cloister in School Yard, in 1517 Lupton laid the foundations of the tower and range of buildings that bear his name, and determined to make Eton face west instead of north. The interior he eventually apportioned chiefly to himself, as Provost, for a lodging. The architects were Humphrey Coke, Henry Redman and a Mr. Vertue, a freemason who in 1505 had contracted for the roof of St. George's Chapel. The resemblance between Lupton's Tower and the gateway of St. James's Palace reminds us that until 1531 the site of that place, then occupied by the Hospital of the Sisters of St. James, was the property of Eton and formed the town residence of the Provosts. In that year, however, Henry VIII possessed himself of this property, exchanging it for lands in Kent and elsewhere, and soon afterwards built the palace, of which the gateway remains the most characteristic feature; but he left to Eton the Hospital lands in Hampstead, which are now a most valuable possession.

At the southern end of Lupton's block there is a tower, in the basement of which was a sluice; this sluice, no doubt part of the original drainage plan, flooded the main drain which ran thence in a north-westerly direction beneath School Yard to the



northern side beneath the eastern end of Long Chamber. It then turned east and ran beneath the turrets on the exterior of the north range of the cloisters, to the corner now occupied by the Headmaster, and, turning south, served the same purpose for the turrets of the eastern range of the cloister buildings, and so into the river.

In 1624 Sir Henry Wotton, after tremendous intrigues, was at length elected Provost, in spite of the candidature of many, among whom was Francis Bacon, not long before impeached and dismissed from the Chancery. Sir Henry, whom we shall meet with again, had for many years been our representative at Venice; at the moment, however, he chiefly concerns us as having erected the colonnade of oak pillars in Lower School, to support the floor of Long Chamber above. Izaak Walton, however, with whom tradition tells he "begat habits of peace and patience" from a punt, has it that he set them up in order that the "choicely drawn pictures" on them "of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin poets, historians and orators might persuade them not to neglect retorick because Almighty God hath left mankind affections to be wrought upon." Whether Sir Henry's motives were thus educational, or merely utilitarian, it is in either case difficult for us to believe that the timber used was the wreckage from a galleon run aground from the Armada and presented by Queen Elizabeth. The tradition probably arises from the fact of the pillars being of Spanish chestnut. Since the date of Wotton's erection of the pillars Lower School has changed very little, save for the insertion of writing-desks in front of some of the fixed benches. Everywhere here the hand of the amateur artist in woodwork has been active. Names, fragments of names, holes, slashes and ink-runs, score every square inch of wood—except upon the benches, which are worn grey and shiny by millions of pairs of breeches and trousers. The earliest date on the shutters is 1577, and on the pillars 1645, by which date they were systematically set up in columns on election to King's College, the sister foundation.

From the earliest days until the end of the seventeenth century this was the only schoolroom in Eton. At one end, no doubt, sat the Master, while in the middle, next the curious balustrade, apparently of the same date, that divides the aisles, so to call them, in half, sat the Usher, an office that is now represented by the Lower Master, though then he was a kind of factotum, the only assistant teachers being the *præpositores*, members of the seventh form, who, formerly pupil teachers, still survive as *prepostors*. The Master, by the way, lived in an apartment at the west end of Long Chamber, above the Headmaster's present room, and the Usher at the east end.

Long Chamber, in which all the collegers slept for the first four centuries of Eton's existence, was a great barrack gallery 172ft. long and 27ft. wide. Those who passed through their sojourn within its walls unscathed in mind and body could pride themselves on more than ordinary strength. During the winter months, when the doors were locked at 6.30 in the evening and not opened again for twelve hours, there was little hope for any quiet study being possible. Before bedtime drinking, rat-hunts, tossings in the blanket and simple bullying occupied the hours, while during the night, even if such practices had temporarily ceased, the mild student in his repugnant bed ran the risk of being "run up," that is, being shut up against the wall in his bed by the foot of it being hoisted aloft.

The congestion of Lower School was slightly relieved in 1665 during the provostship of Richard Allestree (1665-81). Allestree, a typical cavalier of the noblest kind, used to be seen during the wars "holding his musket in one hand and book

in the other, making the watchings of a soldier the lucubrations of a scholar." Almost immediately after his appointment he proceeded to build a new schoolroom to close in the yard on the Slough road side, where previously there had been a high wall with wooden gates in the middle. From the prints engraved by Hollar (1672) and Loggan (1690) Allestree's building resembled the existing Upper School in general form. It lacked, however, the balustrade that now conceals the roof, which is also of a flatter pitch than the earlier one. On the School Yard side it had a colonnade, but not so strong as the present one, simple columns of slender girth alone supporting the wall. In 1689, in consequence of the manifest insecurity of the building, it was taken down, and a subscription list opened for the building of a new structure, with an entire reconstruction of Lower School and Long Chamber as well. The latter proposal was, fortunately, never put into execution, but at a cost of £2,300 the new Upper School was in 1694 completed with Burford stone facings, Portland stone piers, and the wooden fenestration of the older structure. There is no record of Sir Christopher Wren having had any hand in its design, and a Mr. Matthew Bankes is the only individual to whom any payment is made for surveying and advising.

The building, which contains small chambers on the ground floor formerly used as schoolrooms, is occupied above by one long apartment, with, however, a square room at the northern end. Good staircases of the period communicate with either extremity. The small room is now the Headmaster's schoolroom, and has for two and a half centuries been the scene of floggings, a lineal descendant of the original flogging block still being used there. Upper School itself is a model of what a historic schoolroom should be, with thousands of names carved and scratched upon its panels. Here is Shelley's name twice carved, Walpole, Pitt (the elder), C. J. Fox, Gladstone, several Cecils, Lord Roberts, Captain Oates, to mention but a few, while above them a series of busts dating from 1840 commemorate the Wellesleys, Canning—the most brilliant boy that ever was at Eton—Camden, Fielding, Gray, Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, Hallam, Lord Howe and others. The desk at the north end has witnessed many dramatic scenes. From it indomitable little Keate, Headmaster 1809–34, would bawl his lessons to a class of 160 boys, while assistant masters, one in each of the other *rostra*, endeavoured also to make themselves heard above the general shindy. Here, quacking like an angry duck, did Keate among a shower of rotten eggs overcome successive rebellions. One day he came in to find his desk smashed to atoms, but, taking no notice, he stood upon the platform which it used to surmount and made as if it was still there. This was an action typical of those absurd times when Keate could decline an invitation from William IV to watch the procession of boats with him on the Fourth of June on the plea that "he did not know there was such a thing." Many are the anecdotes of Keate and his never-tiring arm. Perhaps the pleasantest is a remark in exposition of the Sixth Beatitude: "'Blessed are the pure in heart.' Mind that; it's your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart—I'll flog you."



## THE CHAPEL

**I**F on a summer afternoon you have ever rowed up the stream that leads to Romney Weir you know that Eton Chapel is essentially of the river. Out of a water meadow it rises, somehow embodying in stone the familiar graces of the river bank. It springs like a great bed of silver rushes, yet follows in its lines the poplars that grow beside it, while in colour it is as the foliage of willow trees ruffled by the breeze. The Greeks, who peopled their landscapes with gods, and whose woods were full of nymphs, built temples in such surroundings of an airiness appropriate. Though in a different style, we have here the same inspiration of height and lightness—the very grace of a dryad; yet, withal, of no other divinity but her of this river; for it is the epitome in limestone of the quiet beauty of the Thames, of its union of grandeur with intimacy and of mere prettiness with simplicity. That is the chief merit of the Thames. It never, so to say, tries to be impressive. There is nothing “romantic” about it; yet we know, when we see it placidly winding its course through fields full of buttercups and cows, that it is our Thames, the greatest river in these islands. Both are so simple that we think we can take in their beauties at a glance; but, like most simple things, the Chapel grows on us, till we discover that what we took to be simplicity is supreme art, and that it is less a chance effect than the happy outcome of unsuccessful experiment.

That the founder felt all this, and much more, it is pleasant to think; indeed, it is difficult to think otherwise. He might so easily have built Eton Chapel like King's College Chapel, and made it a conscious beauty, a masterpiece of intricate workmanship. But if he had, it would have been an error in what we call taste, for were Eton Chapel so ornate and rich as King's, it would start out of its landscape so that we could look at nothing else, but only gaze and admire. Eton, on the contrary, is part of its surroundings, it grows out of the fertile plain; and, though we are always conscious of its existence, we can also appreciate the things about it—the river, the trees, the clouds and the way the sun glints on its weathercocks. In fact, it is part of the picture, not a picture by itself.

King Henry must have felt this, for it is important to remember that he could always see Eton from the terrace before his castle. He must therefore have wished to build a church he could live with, not one that he would have to live up to, for your vivid and arresting building, like a vivid and arresting personality, comes in the end to be sheer weariness. This, it seems, was the reason why he rejected the magnificent but restless detail of King's College Chapel, and made Eton so simple. Yet Eton is never “plain,” or uninteresting, for Henry, while discarding ornament, attained richness and variety of effect by the far simpler expedient of blending together two different kinds of stone. It may be denied by some that Henry, consciously, was striving to get an effect, to score some harmonious chord that filled his mind; but, surely, such a denial is countered by the fact that in 1448 he had his first

experiment demolished and began over again. Everybody has insisted that this effect was mere size, the chord simply a buzzing in the head, owing to the fact that his final design was larger than the others. No one has suggested that it was harmony at which he was aiming. The first choir, begun in 1441, was probably like King's Chapel; but when it was finished he saw there was something wrong—it somehow irritated his susceptibilities, it was not harmonious. Therefore, though he could not say what exactly was wrong, with a superb gesture, for which the greatness of his father for a moment animated him, he rubbed the whole thing out and began afresh.

The explanation of this drastic step, to be properly understood, must needs be a little lengthy, involving an account of the building. The cause, however, seems briefly to have been that the first structure was ill proportioned and did not convey the impression which seems to have been in Henry's mind. Let us see how this works out in detail.

On July 3rd, 1441, the foundation stone of the Church of the Assumption of Our Lady of Eton was laid by Henry himself amid much ceremony. In his charter he describes the sentiments that led him to found the College, and on this eventful day his heart must have been full of them. He says:

We have from the very beginning of our riper age [he was only twenty then] carefully turned over in our mind how, according to the measure of our devotion and the example of our ancestors, we could do most fitting honour to our mistress and most holy mother the Church, to the pleasure of her great Spouse. And at length, while we were inwardly pondering these things, it hath become a fixed purpose in our heart to found a College in honour and support of that our mother, who is so great and so holy, in the parochial church of Eton beside Windsor, not far from our birthplace.

This last sentence reminds us that for many years before the completion of the new church the old church of Eton served the requirements of the College. It seems to have stood in what is now the graveyard, the foundations of the new edifice being dug just north of it. Beautified for its accession to fame by many gifts, the old parish church found itself also endowed with wide lands, many of the territories of alien priories being transferred to the new corporation, chief among them the lands of the Abbey of Bec in Normandy, the former home of the schoolmen and the cloister of Lanfranc and Anselm. Such places as Tooting-bec, Weedon-bec and Beckford were given to Eton. Henry, moreover, determined to make the name of Eton famous through the land, so he obtained from Pope Eugenius IV a bull by which all penitents who visited the collegiate church at the Feast of the Assumption were granted indulgences equal to those which could be obtained at the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula at Rome. The bull, with many others, is preserved in the College library. We have no definite description of this first attempt at the new church until the signature of the document known as the *Will* in 1448. In it we behold a less exalted aspect of the founder's ideals—the surpassing, no matter by how small a margin, of Wykeham's till then unrivalled foundation at New College. The choir (the only part which in either attempt was ever begun) measured 103ft. long, 32ft. broad, and 80ft. high to the crest of the battlements; “And so the said quere is longer than the quere of Winchestre College, Oxenford, by iij feet, brodder by ij ft.; the walls higher by xx ft. and the pennacles longer by x ft.” The result of this petty emulation was strange, for Henry seems to have forgotten that New College Chapel is not a detached building, but half of a range of buildings, the other end of which is occupied by the hall. Eton Chapel, therefore, was short for its height and high



for its breadth, being nearly as high as it was long, and more than twice as high as it was broad, even allowing for the 13ft. of solid masonry beneath the floor. The nave was to have been of the same breadth and height and length as the choir (104ft.), but with aisles 15ft. broad. Had this ever been built, it would just have reached to the present roadway, and would naturally have made the choir look less ill proportioned. The King, however, had some rooted objection to the design. It cannot have been in the construction, which, broadly, was similar to that of the present chapel. The lower courses appear to have been built of Caen stone, but when the supply for some reason ceased in 1445 a substitute was obtained in the shape of the magnesian limestone of Hudlestone in Yorkshire. Until 1448 this was procured from the clerk of the works at Syon, where Henry V's foundation of Brigittines was slowly building a house. In the latter year, however, Sir John Langton granted the King a section of the quarry *in situ*, when the stone was shipped from Cawood on the Ouse round to London and thence up the Thames in barges. In 1448, too, another stone was procured from Teynton in Oxfordshire, a dark, shelly oolite which they loaded into barges at Culham. In the upper courses of the first chapel these two materials seem to have been mixed, with an effect so happy that the King was pleased and ordered a similar arrangement in the *Avyse*. The solid "enhancement" of the floor of the choir to a height of 13ft. to avoid floods probably consisted of flints from Marlow, Kentish rag, chalk, and rag from the Savoy Palace, John of Gaunt's ancient residence, then being demolished.

This first structure seems in 1448 to have neared completion. The building accounts deal in the spring of that year with timber for the roof—a wooden roof—and for the stalls, for the polishing of which a piece of shagreen called "hound-fisschskyn" was procured. The King, however, as we said, had some radical dislike of the structure. At first he thought it was too high; he therefore added 15ft. to the length and 3ft. to the breadth. Even these small alterations of the dimensions involved an entire demolition, which, soon after midsummer, 1448, was begun. But before this slightly enlarged design could be put into execution the King for a third time altered his plans, determining to abandon whatever model he had had in mind and to turn to cathedrals for inspiration. He therefore sent Roger Keys, the master of the works and also warden of the new All Souls' College at Oxford, to measure the choirs and naves of Winchester and Salisbury, while it seems that he knew those of Lincoln.

The result was his third and last plan—the *Avyse* in which the present choir and the rough dimensions of the nave are described. As it was never built we may first deal with the nave, which would have been 168ft. long and have stretched some way into the present Keate's Lane, necessitating the turning of the highway. The choir, now 150ft. long and 40ft. broad, remained 80ft. high externally, and thus assumed a completely satisfying appearance by itself, even without its nave. Architecturally speaking, this is because it is, roughly, two double cubes in length and two cubes in height, or, more simply, taking the breadth of 40ft. as the side of one cube, it is nearly four cubes long and exactly two cubes high. Externally, the chapel exactly followed the directions of the *Avyse* both in height and the distribution of stone. The three lowest courses visible above the ground are of the dark Teynton stone—first brought to Eton in 1448—an additional proof that the first building was completely demolished; up to the sills of the windows and the first

stage of the buttresses Hudlestone stone only is used; in the second stage of the buttresses this is mixed with Teynton stone again—which shows brown against the white limestone; the drip moulds over the windows are Teynton stone unmixed, and the battlements are Hudlestone stone. The chief feature of the exterior is the magnificent line of buttresses, which, however, project no more than 10ft. at their bases, as against 17ft. at King's. That they were intended to bear the weight of a stone-vaulted roof is generally accepted, but Messrs. Willis and Clark, in their excellent chapters on Eton, have very forcibly discouraged this supposition. Not only are the buttresses half as massive, as at King's, but there is no room for a fan-vaulted roof in the space between the tops of the windows and the string-course; at King's this space is considerably greater. We know, too, that the first structure had a wooden roof, from the entries in the building accounts. Those, moreover, who would have it that the founder intended the string-course to be higher above the windows than it is, but never lived to fulfil his intention, are confronted with the exact correspondence in height of the existing building with the directions in the *Avyse*. Whether Henry intended a stone roof or no, the effect of the narrow buttresses rising almost without a break to the string-course, and throwing the space between them into deep shadow, is extremely beautiful. It is this very lack of space between their summits and the roof that gives the impression of airiness and lightness which we have noticed. Like gigantic water rushes they spring from the ground, apparently so strong, but bearing nothing save a feathery cresting of pinnacles and battlements. Yet there is no effort, no massiveness; each buttress seems drawn up to the sky like a poplar tree, more delicate as it rises, till it tapers to a point, here represented by the crocketed gablets and pinnacles. This, surely, was the effect that King Henry was trying to convey.

After 1450 Henry's political troubles began, and the new choir, lacking his personal supervision, grew but slowly. In 1453 the King was first stricken with madness. The work proceeded, however, under the supervision of Waynflete, a former provost, but now Bishop of Winchester, who from this time onward, though hampered with his own foundation of Magdalen, stands out as Eton's second founder. In 1458 we find an entry for iron fittings for the east window which suggests its completion. Both from within and without there is a curious feature to be seen in the arch mouldings of this east window, which indicates the difficulty under which Waynflete had to work. The moulding runs in a flatter curve than the top of the window itself, suggesting that stones shaped for the earlier, narrower east window had to be used to eke out the material to hand. In 1475 the other windows seem to have been ready for the glazier, who was sent from Winchester; and in 1479 we hear of the antechapel being begun. The commencement of the antechapel marks the definite abandonment by Waynflete of any idea of carrying out Henry's plans for a nave. It would seem, however, that a very slight attempt had been made to begin the nave, for in the south-west corner of the School Yard it will be seen that the plinth mouldings of the chapel wall, built of Hudlestone stone, have been carried northwards for some 15ft. along the wall that now contains the stairs to the north door of the antechapel, as though it were the east end of one of the aisles. That this was Henry's work seems probable from the use of Hudlestone stone, for which Waynflete substituted Headington stone from the quarries near Oxford, of which he was also building Magdalen College. During the previous decade, moreover,



all the remains of Henry's stock of Hudlestone seem to have been used up in the four north-western buttresses, which are entirely of that material. By 1482, however, the antechapel was completed with Headington stone (now faced with Bath stone) on the lines of the antechapel erected at Magdalen, which itself was copied from that at New College. To conceal its shortcomings in the matter of size the great chancel arch with which the choir had been finished, possibly with a temporary window above it, was blocked up and reduced to its present somewhat ungainly proportions. Thus ended Henry's attempt at building a church among churches that would have surpassed in dignity of conception and unity of design even the cathedral of Salisbury. As he conceived it, from the west door to the east window would have been one vast rhythmical vista over 300ft. long. The nave and aisles would together have been surpassed in breadth only by those of York Minster. The high altar would have possibly been abreast of the north door, as we find references to a proposed lady chapel beyond it. This would explain the difference of internal treatment, for the western moulded shafts between the windows are not, like the eastern ones, carried down to the floor, but rest on small moulded corbels on an offset below the window sills, formed by a thickening of the walls. This was partly, no doubt, to accommodate the stalls of the choir; but, as the nave was never built, so the high altar never left the east end, where, to this day, it stands above the stone that Henry laid in 1441. The interest of this flat wall space in the western half of the chapel lies in the frescoes that formerly adorned it, painted between 1479 and 1488 by a certain William Baker. "In a double row they seem to have illustrated the *Legenda Sanctorum* and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, the whole series intending to exemplify the gracious protection afforded by the Blessed Virgin to her votaries" (Lyte). In 1560, however, the college barber was paid to whitewash them over, and in 1699 they were further concealed by the tall wainscoting that clothed the walls until 1847, when its removal resulted in their rediscovery. In a fragmentary condition they remain behind the present stalls, erected at that date, and cannot be got at, for Provost Hodgson refused even Prince Albert's entreaties to allow some system of sliding panels to be erected.

Of the three entrances to the chapel, the west door, of which the stairs were built in 1624, and the north-west door, both lead into the antechapel. The latter entrance gives on to the late Jacobean staircase built in 1694 to communicate with Upper School. The north entrance proper is contemporary with the 1449 rebuilding, and on the platform whence the steps mount to the door was the original fives court. The game of fives is first mentioned in a play *temp.* Charles I, and until 1848 was played on this very spot, the two spaces between the neighbouring buttresses affording room for a similar game for two players, known as "shirking walls" (Goodall to Metcalfe, 1816).

Immediately east of the north door lies a chapel, now to be adorned as a War Memorial Chapel, and to the east of that again Lupton's Chapel, built by 1515. This latter is divided from the choir by a richly carved screen, which in the spandrels of the door contains Lupton's rebus—"R" and "Lup" on a tun. In the panels immediately above it occurs the Tudor rose. The elaborate fan-vaulted ceiling centres round a pendant boss bearing Lupton's arms with the three Eton lilies on a sable chevron. In the easternmost bay of the choir is the characteristic monument of Provost Murray, who succeeded Sir Henry Saville in

1622 and died 1624. In the illustration can be seen the beautiful treatment of the east end of the chapel—narrow stone panels with cinquefoil heads, the wall space behind the altar being treated in a similar fashion. The decoration, however, depends principally on the windows, as, with the revival of design in stained glass, was becoming more and more the custom during the later Perpendicular, or rectilinear, period of architecture. It can, therefore, never be sufficiently deplored that no fragment of the original glass survives. The great east window, until the puritanical regime of Provost Rous, was taken up with an enormous picture of the Annunciation, the “lily pot” alone occupying 32 sq. ft. of glass. The existing glass in the body of the chapel is very poor, if inoffensive; the great east window, however, by Willement, was erected by terminal “taxes” between 1844 and 1849, and while it misses the gem-like appearance of old glass, yet makes an effective attempt to fill up the vast area. It was formerly of much brighter colours, being of the same tone as the side windows that flank it. At the time, however, of the South African Memorial Fund it was toned down and wooden crossbars set up within to give the impression of iron bars without—an experiment that has proved very successful. One relic alone remains of the fittings of Henry’s Chapel; it is the lectern made of latten, presented before 1487, which is remarkable in its double revolving book-rest, pierced with the arms of the College.

The filling of the windows with glass at this time was, however, a part of the process of restoring the Chapel to something like the original condition from which it had been very much altered at the end of the seventeenth century. The Renaissance alterations were a direct result of the rebuilding of Upper School in 1694, when it was proposed also to rebuild Lower School and Long Chamber in the Italian manner. In 1698 Chapel roof underwent repairs, being covered on the inside with an even coat of lath and plaster, painted and moulded to bear a resemblance to stonework. In the following year the authorities directed their energy to the interior of the Chapel, turning out the old benches and substituting a number of high box pews for the townspeople to sit in. The walls, up to the windows and covering the screen of Lupton’s Chapel, were clad in oak wainscoting, the work of “Mr. Hopson the joiner”; a pulpit was planted opposite the north entrance, and that door was cased in woodwork so that no sign remained of its Gothic lines, for the new one had a horizontal lintel surmounted by a pediment. Then at the east end a lofty reredos or *baldocchino* was erected, very rich, with urns upon it, the pediment of which somewhat obscured the lower portions of the east window. The west end, too, was changed. An organ loft in the Classic taste was set up opposite the second window from the west, and in the archway beneath it a flight of five steps connected the level of antechapel with that which is now restricted to the high altar. That is to say, that the whole of the Chapel floor was level with what is now its culmination—down to the organ screen. The western side of this screen was fashioned in Corinthian pilasters, which made the Gothic of Waynflete’s antechapel appear poor and rude, until in 1769 that, too, was beautified with stuccowork. That the Chapel presented in this garb a very passably pleasant appearance, in harmony with the grave, monstrously wigged divines who discoursed within it, the print by Ackermann made in 1811 and here reproduced bears testimony. But we can none the less rejoice that in 1842 it was decided to remove the lofty *baldocchino* adorned with urns, for in so doing, with delight and surprise, the Gothic enthusiasts of that day discovered the panelled stonework which



it concealed. Might there not be even more of it, they asked one another; might not the judicious care of the most expert artists restore the building to its former glory? First, the east window, now evident in its entirety, was to be filled with glass, and, as we have related, Mr. Willement commenced his work.

In 1845 a competition was opened to architects for the most effective scheme for restoring the body of the church, and Mr. Deeson's designs were chosen, whereby the seventeenth-century wainscoting was removed prior to the erection of the present stalls. The plaster was taken off the roof, and the cusping was added in enlarged imitation of the cinquefoil panelling of the east end. At this time, while the white-wash behind the wainscoting was being scraped away, the fifteenth-century frescoes were revealed, yet not before the industrious artisans had mutilated the greater number of them. It was Mr. Wilder, chancing to make his way among the *débris* of discarded panels to view how the restoration progressed, who suddenly saw these mysterious frescoes and bade the workman hold his hand from their too violent revelation. Though the Provost refused to allow them to be left uncovered, as unfit to be seen in a building dedicated to the Church of England, Mr. Essex, an artist, has preserved them for us in a series of drawings.

The organ, on the removal of the Classical loft, was at first placed half-way up the south wall of the choir; and the east end, which in places of worship is ever a sure guide to the tenets of the incumbent, in this case of the Provost, was decorated with paintings of the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes in a style, as Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte puts it, more befitting the walls of a village school.

Not till 1881 was the organ placed in its present position, nor till 1895 did the east end begin to assume its present beautiful appearance by Mr. Luxmoore's gift of the centre panel of William Morris's replica, executed from Burne-Jones's design, of his tapestry at Exeter College, Oxford. In 1897 G. F. Watts presented the "Happy Warrior," a replica of the picture now belonging to Lord Faringdon, though it was actually begun before what is now considered to be the original, the artist taking a dislike, which he afterwards overcame, to the priming of the canvas. After the South African War and the death of the Queen, who for so many years had dominated unconsciously the minds of Provost and Headmaster, when the terrible casualty lists with their ever-increasing number of Etonians had come to an end, the two great men, who had brought Eton to the utmost glory that it has ever attained, as it were bowed to the force of new ideas that for so long they had withstood. In the school itself a host of changes were working: specialisation warred with the classics, science with the humanities. Now the wider catholicism—that in Burne-Jones's and Watts's work had camped as piquets in the choir—came surging in. The Florentine altar, the side pieces of the tapestry triptych, the graduation of the new black and white marble floor, all combined their beauties and rich colouring in a harmony, nor rigid nor profuse, that matched the gentle ambitions of the founder.

## THE HALL AND KITCHEN

**B**REWHOUSE YARD, lying at the east end of Chapel, is given over to silence, pigeons and choristers, which latter have now their school in the dim recesses of that eighteenth-century building whence the yard is named. It was built in Provost Godolphin's time—1714 is the date on the rain-water heads—but many years have passed since it was gutted by fire in 1875 and the good smell of malt and hops ceased to pervade this court. In its day the brewhouse, or rather its predecessor, produced one of the finest liquors in England; indeed, it was a Royal brew, for Charles II would have it sent up to the castle, and he had a delicate taste in such things. The yard, now so still, above which looms like some blue Caprian cliff the east window, screened in summer at its base by the pale green of two lime trees, is entered either from Baldwin's Shore beneath the little gallery-surmounted archway, or from School Yard beside the gateway to which rises the southern tower of Lupton's building upon earlier stone foundations that formerly contained the sluice house. On the other, eastern, side of this tower lies the southern front of the Hall, and one glance at its peculiar patchwork appearance will warn us that we have an intricate task before us in endeavouring to unravel its history. For in dealing with the Hall we have not only to face once again the discrepancies between the founder's directions and the actual work executed that we encountered in Lower School, but we are also confronted with a baffling series of architectural anomalies the reason for which it is difficult to explain.

It is in November, 1443, that we first hear of the Hall. In that month a contract was made by the Provost with the chief carpenter for the provision of woodwork for ten chambers on the eastern side of the College, a hall, a cloister and seven towers, which latter exactly correspond in number with those of that period which now exist, as Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte points out, there being three exterior angle towers and two turrets on each of the curtain walls between them. But it was woodwork that was being ordered, and we know that the Hall was not commenced until 1445 at the earliest; it is therefore not possible to claim, as some writers do upon this account, that all the apartments here enumerated were then ready to receive their fittings. We mention this by the way, as it affects our reasoning with regard to the date of Lower School and its former cloister. In the light of the arguments there set forth it would seem that this is the date of the cloisters being commenced, not of their partial completion.

It appears that the present site of the Hall was thus early marked out for its erection from a small clue in the buttery. At the head of the Hall steps on the left are three hood-moulded doorways, the centre one of which gives into the buttery. On our left hand as we enter runs the northern wall of this little room, and on it, 4ft. from the floor, is a stone set-off, or course of drip stones. This could only have been placed on an outside wall, and as the buttery (called "a pantry") is distinctly



mentioned as being built at the same date as the Hall, therefore this outside wall must be earlier than 1445, when the Hall buildings were begun. This would therefore have been the outside or southern face of a part of the southern cloister buildings, the drip stones of which stopped short at this point where the erection of the Hall was intended. This portion of the cloister buildings with the cloister and gallery that formerly ran along the northern face of the Hall seem, indeed, to have been the first to be erected. For, beginning from this point, the builders worked along the eastern and northern sides, and appear to have commenced the western side of the cloisters, which latter was partly demolished by Lupton in 1516. The south-west corner of the cloisters, which would have abutted on the dais or western end of the Hall, and which would have contained the Provost's lodging, was possibly not finished until much later, although a small door was constructed for the use of the Provost when he came to Hall. The only portion approaching completion in that quarter was the basement of the sluice tower, which was, of course, essential for the working of the *cloaca maxima* that ran beneath the exterior turrets of the College.

In 1446 the clerk of the works went to see William de la Pole, Marquess of Suffolk, who was throughout Henry's chief architectural adviser and a liberal patron of the College, especially to settle upon the details of the Hall, which were accordingly rehearsed in the *Will*, signed in 1448. This document has already been dealt with at considerable length in the two previous chapters, in which it was shown to be a *jeu* of Henry's rather than a sober tabulation of builders' instructions. Thus, while the Hall is described therein as occupying its present position, the cloister, which must have been practically completed by that date, is entirely ignored, and even the Hall is somewhat different from the structure at that time in building. It is described as being entered from the quadrangle—which the document substituted for the cloister—by a gate beneath a turret; also it was to have an oriel window looking north upon this quadrangle, to correspond with the existing oriel looking south upon Brewhouse Yard. Of neither of these features is there the slightest trace, and it is to be doubted very much whether they were ever seriously contemplated, for most likely the south wing of the cloisters, on the site of the present Library, had already been constructed. The *Will* also mentions the pantry, as we have already noticed, and the Provost's lodging at the west end of the Hall, which, as previously explained, was never completed.

Towards the end of 1449 we find an entry in the accounts of the purchase of a high table, which suggests that the Hall was finished. This is confirmed in the following year by purchases of rushes for the floor. We will now, therefore, proceed to Brewhouse Yard and discuss the very peculiar exterior of the building. The northern face is not visible, owing to the Library built against it in the eighteenth century, so that this side and the two ends are all we have to go upon. It will be seen, by glancing at the Brewhouse Yard elevation of the Hall, that the stonework ends abruptly at a line above the windows. The brickwork surmounting this, formerly plastered over, is of the same date as the library—1728—when the Hall was repaired “after the model of Mr. Rowland,” the architect. We have no information as to the appearance of the Hall before these alterations, but several engravings show that Rowland inserted a Venetian window at the west end, if not at the east end also, which has since been replaced by a more suitable one.



The question now arises, Why does the fifteenth-century stonework suddenly cease? We may at once set aside the suggestion that Rowland had it taken down and replaced the work with his own brick. In the first place, such an action would have been useless; in the second, the oriel window has a wooden ceiling carved and ribbed in a manner contemporary with its tracery, which would not have been so if Rowland had lowered it. Rowland, however, seems not to have materially altered the shape of the main roof, although he apparently reconstructed it. It is the windows that are the greatest puzzle; unfortunately, they cannot be seen in the illustrations, owing to the projection of the buttresses between which they are set. They consist, however, of two cinquefoil lights, with a single plain deep external reveal that contains both lights. On the upper face of the transoms there are signs of mitreing for the reception of the mullion of an upper light. If the upper lights of the windows were ever constructed, they have entirely disappeared, their place being taken by coved arched recesses somewhat similar to those over the oriel lights. This, however, is Rowland's work, and it has always been held that the windows originally were of full height, the upper half projecting from the roof in the manner of dormers. But if the theory suggested above holds good, the windows probably never were completed. What would have been, or possibly was, their appearance may be indicated from the unusual window design that happily remains more or less intact in the doorway to the headmaster's house, of which a picture is shown on p. 63, although in this case it is the lower lights that have been cut away for the insertion of a doorway. The single roll moulding, however, that would have contained the lower lights remains, and is exactly the same as the moulding of these hall windows. We have, therefore, a precedent for an upper pair of lights above such a moulding; but can we assume that such lights ever surmounted the Hall windows?

If we also assume, for a reason into which we will immediately enquire, that the stonework was never any higher, we find that the transoms of these windows are on the same level as the line where the masonry ceases. It therefore looks as though windows and walls were neither of them carried up to their full height, as it is quite certain that the walls at neither end attained their intended lateral extent. For not only does the stonework cease irregularly to the west of the oriel, but also above the buttery, where, it would seem, a chamber to surmount it was contemplated.

We have already said that the Hall design was sanctioned in 1446. Two years later the revised version of the *Will* caused the demolition of the first chapel, while in 1449 work was commenced on the new one. Is it not possible to suppose that the masons, who had, towards the end of 1447, ceased work on the chapel, then turned their attention to building the Hall, but that before they had got any further than the first stage of the windows they were called back to the chapel to undo their work, and remained there for the next ten years? The want of a hall was felt more every year as the numbers of scholars increased; already in 1446 a building called "the Old Hall"—probably a converted barn or cottage—had to be enlarged. In 1448-49 the necessity for roofing in the Hall may have become so pressing that the masonry was just finished off in a tidy line, and the carpenters, whose services on the chapel were not now needed, were turned on to building the roof, in spite of walls and windows being short of their intended height. In a sentence, the carpenters who had signed on for chapel roof and stalls were turned on to finishing the Hall in the absence of the masons. Such an explanation is borne out by the interior of the



oriel window. It was covered by a suitable wooden ribbed ceiling, the columns being surmounted by a flat wooden arch instead of the more handsome stone one which was, no doubt, intended. But can this explanation be made to fit an even more strange anomaly—connected with the three fireplaces, none of which, when they were discovered behind the panelling in 1858, had any chimneys? That they are a later insertion, yet not completed, cannot be maintained, as they each have a magnificent iron fireback stamped “H vi R” surmounted by the Lancastrian crown and flanked by roses and engaged pinnacles. That our theory accounts for this lack of chimneys might be argued, but I, for one, have not sufficient ingenuity or space at my disposal to do so. The carpenters, however, had a remedy—the construction of a *louvre*, so that an open hearth in the middle of the floor served the purpose of warming the Hall.

Returning once more to the cloister whence we came, we see the refreshing spectacle of Cloister Pump. Its water is reputed to come from an immense depth and to taste very sweet. But to appreciate it to the full you must have been playing cricket all the afternoon on Dutchman’s Farm beneath a July sun; you must drink it in haste, bat and pads beneath your arm, and your loins girded to hurry you to answer your name at “Absence” in School Yard.

Though this cloister is of eighteenth-century construction, the wall on the Hall side, containing the vaults, has a casing of Caen stone, probably of Lupton’s erection. It was apparently in 1691 that the present stairs to Hall were constructed. In that year the College paid upwards of £130 out of revenue for making the stairs into the Hall, for paving the Hall, and for other work. Part of this other work was applied to the graduation of the new stairs, for the original flight probably did not begin to rise until inside the archway. Now, the platform thrown out into the cloister made the arch too low, so that the four-centred mouldings were cut away up to the hood mould, which terminates, by the way, in the diamond-shaped stops characteristic of Henry’s work. Thus weakened, the arch had to be strengthened by the construction of the flattened coved arch immediately behind it, as can be seen in the illustration on p. 58.

Returning to Hall to examine its contents rather than its construction, we pass through the screen (1858) and see at the further end a canopy of the same date. The side walls retain the panelling set up in 1547, though much restored in 1858, surmounted by an embattled cornice with a small coved member studded with four-petalled roses. There yet remains, however, a panel upon which some collegier scratched, with the enthusiasm of repletion, this memorial: “Queen Elizabeth ad nos gave October 2 loves in a mes 1596,” a double allowance that the fortunate frequenters of the neighbouring table till recently enjoyed. On the wall at the northern end of the dais hangs a great picture of Venice, signed “Odoardus Fialettus 1611,” and presented by Sir Henry Wotton, who, before he came to Eton as Provost, was ambassador to that State. It is, perhaps, worth remembering that one of the most important results of James I’s otherwise not very successful foreign policy was the permanent establishment in foreign capitals of these Ministers, such as Digby at Madrid and Anstruther at Copenhagen—the embryo, as it were, of the Foreign Office. Pepys noticed the picture when he dined in Hall during Plague year.

The buttery remains exactly as it was, with its bread bins and butler’s desk,

when it was redecorated probably at the time of Rowland's reconstruction. On its walls hang pictures, delightfully bad ones, of two eminent college butlers, and pewter dishes stand on shelves. Towards the end of 1921, however, the desk at which for two centuries successive butlers had sat and kept their tale of bread and beer was removed to make room for a plate rack; but such an outcry was raised that it has since been replaced.

Beyond the buttery hatch—which is inserted in one of the three doorways that face the Hall, the other one communicating with the upper gallery by a stair—we come to a flight of worn wooden steps that lead down to the kitchen. They are mentioned as being of wood, and to have been contained by a vaulted passage so early as 1484; probably, being of solid balks of timber, they have never been renewed. In 1766 Thomas James, subsequently a famous headmaster of Rugby, drew up a lengthy document describing the curriculum and sports in vogue at Eton in his time. Among the latter appear such favourites as cricket, football and fives, but also diversions less popular to-day, such as peg-top, hoops, marbles, kites, slides in school and slides down the sides of the stairs from cloisters to College kitchen. The latter sport apparently became a nuisance, so that the authorities caused blocks of wood to be fastened to the inviting surface; that this effectually put a stop to the game you can prove by trying to play it yourself. Descending the steps in the more approved manner, we find ourselves outside the kitchen.

The kitchen is built upon arches beneath which used to flow Baldwin's Beck, a stream upon whose side was built the gabled house called Baldwin's Shore. Sandby's sketch of the kitchen in about 1750 shows this brook running rapidly beneath its arches, and taking with it, no doubt, the refuse of the scullery. Just before it reached the kitchen arches Baldwin's Beck was partly diverted beneath Brewhouse Yard to the sluice, whence its water performed a similar sanitary office for the rest of the College, eventually rejoining itself a little below the kitchen. It flowed with such force that in 1822 an unfortunate boy who chanced to fall into this unsavoury tide was drowned, and a tablet commemorates the fact on one of the southern buttresses of Chapel "as a warning to incautious youth to avoid that element which caused him his death and so much grief and sorrow to his friends."

The kitchen is a square building, the lower walls of which were built at the same time as the Hall. In 1507, however, Lupton began his series of rebuildings by removing the roof and constructing what was called "the Upper Kitchen"—in other words, the great octagonal lanthorn which now surmounts it.

Of the original building there are considerable remains. The south-west angle suggests that, at any rate, those of its faces that looked away from College and were thus seen by travellers on the high-road were built of stone to a height of some 8ft., whence brick continued it to the roof. Its north-western angle and its north face remain unaltered. These are of brick only, as being screened by Chapel and Hall; the north wall rises in corbie-steps to a chimney-surmounted gable. As to its actual date we cannot be quite certain, but in 1448 there is a note of the removal of the kitchen and the completion of the bakehouse, though the *Will* puts both of these offices in what is now Weston's Yard. In 1449, however, the number of bricks specially made in the Royal kiln at Slough rose from 60,000 to 123,000, which may indicate the construction of the kitchen; and in 1451 the clerk of the works went into Kent to choose stone for paving the floor. Whatever the date, there is no



reason to suppose that the great fireplaces have changed much, or that they were ever open up to the pointed relieving arches which take the weight off the flatter fireplace openings; Lupton's work was probably confined to improving the ventilation and lighting by constructing the lanthorn, for Henry's kitchen was apparently lighted by small two-light windows high up in the walls, one of which appears in the illustration of the kitchen. The eighteenth century left its traces in a beautiful rain-water head, now used as a miniature cistern, in the chair with the College arms painted on the splat in its back, and in the clockwork spit, still scrupulously clean, although a more economical method of roasting has lately been introduced. The latter was made by John Davis of Windsor in 1736, who also made the Great Clock in School Yard, and that in the Curfew Tower in 1690. How many thousands of legs of mutton have been turned in time to its ticking you may work out from the following extract from "Eton of Old":

Collegers, from time immemorial, have been fed on nothing but mutton all the year round—always roast—not even an occasional boiled variety: Southdown, fairly aged and cooked to perfection, eaten on pewter plates, with broad horn-handled, two-pronged forks, and broad round-bladed knives, technically Americanised as pea-eaters.

## THE PROVOST'S LODGE

**I**F the Provost is a somewhat mysterious being, above and apart from the daily life of Eton, exercising no direct influence upon the boys, his beautiful rambling house partakes of his inscrutability, for it is rarely viewed by the average youth. Were Eton to be likened, in the manner of Hobbes, to one of those *Bodies Politique* which go to the composition of that great Leviathan the Commonwealth, by the allotting to each part of it the qualities and functions of a corporeal member, the Headmaster would be called the Heart, his staff the Veins and Nerves, the School Clerk with his redoubtable lieutenant, known to generations as "Fusee," the Eyes, and the Chapel the Lungs where the pure air of spiritual life in theory is breathed into the body; then the Provost would be the Brain and his house the Skull enclosing it, stored with memories of which the more active limbs are for the most part but vaguely conscious. To carry the metaphor one step further, it is a biological dogma that with the passage of centuries the brain of mankind has grown, and the multifarious instincts been either set in subjection under it, or killed and cast out, while the skull has increased in size and beauty. In this case the Fellows are the instincts, implanted by the Founder each with his apartment in the Cloisters, but long since ejected thence and his room occupied by the Provost.

The original Provost's Lodge described in the *Will* was to extend 70ft. on both floors from the west end of the Hall to the angle tower near the north-east corner of the Chapel. Now, however, as you walk about the precincts of College, it seems to be everywhere. It takes up the east side of School Yard; it has a mysterious entry from Weston's Yard, and a Gothic back door labelled "The Provost" in Cloisters beside a great Queen Anne portal closed fast by the industry of spiders and the greater security of iron clamps. Several doors communicate with it from the Gallery; a wing runs northwards behind the New Buildings of College, and any odd corner of habitable space not otherwise occupied seems to belong to the Provost. Leaving out of account the tunnel-like vestibule that burrows beneath the new College buildings into Weston's Yard, the Lodge now lies in the form of a cross, running north and south. Lupton's building forms the southern arm, the Georgian gallery that looks out upon the garden the northern; a kitchen in the east end of the Lower School buildings is one cross-piece; and a couple of rooms in the northern range of the Cloisters the eastern arm.

All this has grown from that small part of the Cloisters to the west of Hall where the predecessors of Lupton resided. Of them the most eminent, with the exception of Waynflete, for whom the building cannot have been ready, was Henry Bost, Provost from 1477 till 1504, through the troubled days of the Wars of the Roses. A scholastic pluralist—he was already Provost of Queen's College and Master of King's Hall—he seems to have been a friend, perhaps even the confessor, of Jane Shore, mistress of Edward IV. A little apartment at the west end of College



Library, forming an ante-room between it and Election Chamber, is yet called after her, and a portrait of a beautiful woman, with naked shoulders, beyond which the artist presumed no further, hangs in the *Magna Parlura*, a strange contrast to her companions—kings and provosts: though thought by some to be Diane de Poitiers, to whose period the canvas more evidently belongs, it is called “Jane Shore,” and it is pleasanter to see in it her who is said to have pleaded the cause of Henry’s college to his successor. “For many that had highly offended she obtained pardon,” wrote Sir Thomas More; “of great forfeitures she gat neu remission; and finally in many weighty sutes she stode men in gret stede.”

We have previously mentioned the alterations set on foot by Provost Lupton in the kitchen and Chapel. But it was not until 1516 that he set about rebuilding that part of the original work that divides School Yard from the Cloisters. In that year the workmen who had constructed his chantry were turned on to the partial demolition of the west side of the Cloisters; the whole of the back of this range, looking on to School Yard, was rebuilt, but the Cloister arcade and the brickwork above it up to the sills of the first-floor windows, were spared, together with the turrets at either angle. On the east face of Lupton’s Tower the original brickwork was spared up to the top of the big window. On the outside, the reconstruction began at the west end of Hall, and round by the sluice tower to a line just northwards of the wall that joins Lower School and Lupton’s buildings, where a clean joint can be seen in the brickwork.

It was in 1517, on March 2nd, that “the fyrst stone was layd yn the fundacyon of the west parte of the College, wheron ys bylded Mr. Provost’s Logyn, the gate and the Lyberary.” The design, as has been said, was the combined work of three men, Humphrey Coke, Henry Redman and Mr. Vertue, the last of whom is known to have been a mason who contracted for the roof of St. George’s Chapel. He may have executed the vaulting of the gateway. The other two were most likely surveyor and master builder respectively, for we must remember that the profession of architect and the very word “architecture” were then unknown in England. It was not until 1563 that John Shute, the earliest writer on that subject, published his “First Grounds of Architecture,” and felt it necessary to explain the word as “I thinke not altogither unfite nor unaptlie by me termed in Englishe, the art and trade to rayse up and make excellent edifices and buildinges.”

Lupton’s work is almost exactly contemporary with Wolsey’s Palace at Hampton Court, from which it only differs by its greater simplicity. The symmetrical disposition of the tower is also an advance on Henry’s haphazard methods. The gateway of Wolsey’s Palace is indeed very similar to the one at Eton, with its bay windows above the arch, though much of the similarity is due to the Georgian alterations, which by pulling down parts of the original gate-tower, leave Lupton’s an easy prize winner. Henry VIII’s pleasing but dumpy tower at the bottom of St. James’s Street was built twenty years later, and is a bad third. But while the eighteenth century spoilt Wolsey’s, it actually perfected Lupton’s work. One of the principal features of Hampton Court, according to old drawings, were the delicate cupolas, or “shapes,” as they used to be called in English, that crowned every turret. These were then removed; but at Eton, where they had been lacking, they were actually added in 1766, much improving the general appearance. It was at this date, we may here remark, that the clock, originally low down between

the buttresses where Remove absence is called, on which the lines of the sloping roof of the clock house are still visible, was placed in the tower. The great bay window, above and below which are carved the Royal arms, is divided by a line of traceried panels, in the centre of which is a representation of the Assumption of the Virgin. All these pieces of carving were originally painted, but the colour has long since disappeared. The distinguishing feature of Lupton's brickwork is the diaper pattern of black-headed bricks, which, on the northern turret of the gateway, is varied by a representation of a "lilie pott," or vase containing lilies, the emblem of the Virgin and thence of Eton.

Before we explore Election Chamber, which lies over the archway, and Election Hall, intended as a library, lying to the left of the Tower, we must pass into Cloisters and up the staircase in the north-west angle. This was built by Lupton to be a more imposing ascent to his Library than was formerly afforded by the newel stair in the turret. With a basement of small bricks, it was probably enclosed by wooden walls pierced with many windows. These, perhaps when the upper storey of the Cloisters was added in the eighteenth century, were replaced by brick walls and the whole covered with plaster, only recently removed.

This early discontent with newel stairs is only matched by Henry's very uncommon gallery in which we find ourselves after ascending the stairs. All other colleges have a number of separate staircases from the quadrangle communicating with various sets of upper rooms. With this gallery Henry forestalled evolution by nearly two centuries. Though panelled in the late seventeenth century and covered to-day with sketches, mezzotints and engravings of eminent Old Etonians, along its course occur at intervals the original nail-studded doors of the Fellows' rooms. To the left of the stairs, however, the Gallery ends in a great door. This is the northern end of Lupton's buildings and opens into Election Hall, beyond which, up a few steps, is Election Chamber, and Lupton's lodging rooms beyond that again.

Election Chamber, above the archway, is sometimes referred to as the "dying chambre"; but this would only have been on exceptional occasions. As a rule, it was more probably Lupton's best apartment, or solar, whither he would withdraw after meals in College Hall, where in those days everybody—commensals, conducts and choristers—used to feed together. Here would he sit of an evening till, tired of contemplation, he stepped down into the great Library, with its timber roof, 2ft. lower than it is to-day, the spandrels in the supports of which are carved with blank shields to receive on the one side the arms of princes and on the other the devices of those no less potent persons (in their dominion), provosts. The windows were low and of two lights, recently (1524) filled with medallions of stained glass representing armorial bearings and subjects suited to the character of a library. One of these, fairly well preserved, is a man being pressed to death, a subject which at first sight seems to come under the heading "Religion" or "Medicine," but in reality applies to Common Law. Into their deep recesses he could seat himself with a book, to catch the last uncertain gleams of day as the sun set low over Boveney between the darkening mass of the Chapel and his newly adapted Lower School buildings. When the College rooks had ceased their cawing and it became too dark for the words to be distinguishable upon their pages, he would close the volume and replace it upon one of the shelves in the bookcases that



jutted out from the wall at his shoulder. These divide each window from its neighbour, in the manner of stalls in a stable, into which the plodding hacks, his scholars, could be fastened with little doors—as indeed you can yet see them incarcerated with their dusty food in the Bodleian at Oxford, a building of somewhat earlier date.

But provision for the mind was not long suffered to be here dispensed. The books, moved hither in 1520, were ejected in 1547, on the specious plea that they were Papistical. In that year Sir Thomas Smith had been appointed Provost by Protector Somerset. Sir Thomas was something new in the way of Provosts; like Lupton, he was a lawyer—Master of the Court of Requests—and had been ordained a clerk. He had, moreover, taken his doctor's degree at Padua. In 1547, however, just before his appointment, he did a very curious thing: although it had hitherto been essential for a provost to be in Holy Orders, he “put off” his clerical garb and took a wife. This necessitated a certain amount of explanation in the King's letter to the Fellows ordering his election; the King had to admit that Smith was not a priest, but apparently thought it of no assistance to remind them that he had been; he therefore based his argument for selecting him on “his other qualities, the excellency of which far surmounts the defect before rehearsed.” This was very true, for Smith was one of the most remarkable men of his time: at Cambridge he introduced a new manner for pronouncing Greek, as approved by the great Humanists of the day, which remained in force until supplanted by more modern research into pronunciation. He also compiled an English phonetic alphabet; that, however, was less successful. Soon after 1547 he was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, and in 1549 suffered temporary detention in the Tower with his patron Somerset, where he wrote a small book of prayers “to pas the tyme,” and versified certain of the Psalms. His “Commonwealth of England,” compiled in 1565, remains a valuable and instructive picture of Tudor politics and of the “classes of the people.”

At Eton, however, where he continued until 1554, Sir Thomas is remembered as the first married Provost, and the arrival of the vanguard of the monstrous regiment of women caused not only considerable consternation to the celibates of the cloister, but—we are not surprised—a further enlargement of the Provost's Lodge. The northern boundary, pushed by Lupton three parts of the length of the western cloister range, was carried by Smith to the full extent of that side, so that he looked out upon the garden to the north, and occupied the north-west exterior angle tower. It is quite possible that he built an annexe on the site of the Georgian wing to the north again, as “our master's gallery” is met with in documents, apparently on that site, but there remains no recorded trace of it. The most important change made by Lady Smith was to turn the Library into a great dining-hall and to appropriate the ground-floor room of the east end of Lower School as a kitchen; to connect the two, a staircase was inserted against the north side of the northern end wall of the Hall.

Between the new kitchen and the main block lay the kitchen yard, which yet remains. From it rises, on its western wall, the semi-octagonal stair turret that communicated with the lodging of the *Ostiarius*, beside which is the chimney-stack of Smith's kitchen between two original windows. The kitchen itself, which these help to light, is a picturesque apartment and contains the only relic, outside Chapel,

of mural paintings. These are a rough imitation, in dark pink, of Lupton's brick-work traversed by the diamond pattern in blue.

The Provost's new rooms, however, were more elaborately decorated; we read in the Audit Books (1537-47) of "some rooms lately added to the Provost's Lodging hung with tapestrie and furnisht and panelled" and several altar frontals from Chapel were used as hangings. He also erected the screen in Election Hall, which, owing to its date, 1547, is a particularly interesting specimen. Smith, we have seen, had been to Italy, and carried in his mind memories of Italian forms. Therefore, when he decorated his dining hall, he applied to his task what he could remember of them. Tuscan columns stand upon fluted plinths of no Classic proportions, and in the spandrels of the arches, carved with the Tudor rose, a Gothic tradition lingers. The whole is now a deep mellow brown, shiny with layers of paint and varnish, and only in the numerous chips can one tell that the oak beneath is as dusky with age.

From 1561 to 1596 William Day was Provost, and it was two years after his appointment that occurred one of the more dramatic incidents connected with the Lodge. In the course of Elizabeth's tortuous foreign policy it happened that the King of France placed her emissary in Paris under restraint. Elizabeth retaliated upon the person of M. de Foix, His Most Catholic Majesty's envoy to St. James's. That he might, nevertheless, be not too far removed from the Court, de Foix and suite were lodged with Day at Eton. It would seem that the Provost gave up his private kitchen, and probably his dining-room, and the chambers in the tower. From the written complaint that Day eventually sent to Mr. Secretary Cecil with respect to his noble captive, the four months that he spent here must have been unpleasant for all parties. To begin with, his attendants, apparently lodged in the apartment called Bodmin above Election Chamber, broke out on to the roof and did considerable damage to it by stripping off the lead "to shoote in their gonnes." With this they used daily "to kill fesantes, heron-shawes, mallardes, teeles and doves," which they brought back to their kitchen. This region was not, however, used exclusively for cooking, for "whereas their kitchen ys under the Ussher's chambre, they have at sundry tymes thrust upp spittes in such places as the bordes be not close joyned, and also discharged their dagges uppon other places of the sayd bordes to the great daunger of those that be above, but which of them that did it yt cannot be well knowen, because they that be above cannot see them that be beneath." Not content with this, they did "use to molest the sayd Ussher by immoderate noyse at unseasonable tymes of the night," and, most regrettably, they were heard to call the Fellows rude names. The Ambassador himself, however, was the worst offender. He refused to recognise that, residing in College, he must submit to College regulations, the most irritating of which was the closing of the gates at sundown. On the last day of 1563 de Foix had been entertaining a couple of Italians, and at half-past eight sent his secretary to the Provost for the keys to let them out. Day, however, absolutely refused, and, pushing the secretary out of the door, locked it. Almost immediately the door was burst open again and de Foix and others rushed in, very excited and brandishing swords. The altercation that followed was conducted in Latin, of which fragments have been preserved: "*Nos non sumus obstricti vestris legibus*," cried the Ambassador; "*Exi! Tu ipse cubabis cum eis*"—referring to his intention of locking the Provost out of his



own lodge. Day yielded up the keys, and both parties subsequently complained of one another to Cecil, after which His Excellency was removed.

The next alterations at the Lodge took place on the arrival of Sir Henry Wotton in 1624. Sir Henry, never affluent, was at that time suffering from an aggravation of financial disability; we read that he went down to Eton so ill provided with money that "the Fellows were fain to furnish his bare walls." This may be a figure of speech, but it is worth notice that the walls of the *Magna Parlura*, the parlour at the intersection of what are now the four wings of the Lodge, were panelled in that year, so that a literal interpretation of the phrase is permissible. This apartment, looking out into the kitchen yard by windows recently restored to their original condition, and on to the Provost's garden, has been more lived in than any other in the house, and has therefore undergone more alteration. It is, none the less, one of the best preserved in its original condition. The arrangement of a pair of windows on either side the fireplace is typical of all the Founder's first-floor rooms. Moreover, the door opening on to the Gallery is untouched, and beside it there remains one of the little two-light wooden windows, placed so as to light an interior porch or lobby which would have projected some 6 or 8ft. into the room.

The centre of interest in the Parlour is the woodwork above the fifteenth-century fireplace. This was painted in mellow colours in 1853 and provides a suitable setting for the little portrait of the Founder that now hangs in the midst of it, the president of an assembly of kings, queens and provosts. The panelling on which hang these other pictures was cleaned and restored to its original arrangement in 1909. As to the pictures themselves, they originally hung in the Library beneath Long Chamber, whence they were removed when the present one was built. Here are Richard III, Henry V and VII; on the left can be seen the Earl of Essex, Savile's patron, and Queen Elizabeth. Lord Rous has been painted with his Speaker's mace, and Savile himself in a Dutch full length corroborates the accounts that attribute to him a noble presence. His portrait, presented by Lady Savile after his death, certainly hung in his Library, as did the Founder's picture, for in 1606 an ell of green "taffitie" was bought "to drawe before the Founder's picture in the librarie."

It was here, perhaps, that Provost Allestree, when he was not at Oxford as Regius Professor, would sit and welcome the other Fellows, for Bishop Fell records that while he was Provost the place "was but as one family, his lodging being every Fellow's chamber, and they as much at home with him as in their own apartment." The painter of Allestree has certainly done him justice—perhaps more. Tradition, according to Fell, related that he owed his very appointment to his plain features, for, a discussion having arisen at Whitehall between the King and certain of those about him as to whether it would be possible or not to find, in half an hour, a man uglier than the Earl of Lauderdale, the King affirmed that it would not be possible. Whereon my Lord Rochester went into the streets to put the King's statement to the proof, or, if possible, disproof. Sure enough, he had not long searched before a shabby clergyman passed beside him, whom, judging him to surpass Lauderdale with almost miraculous ease, he cajoled into the presence of His Majesty. On their entry the Court exploded into a roar of laughter, much to the discomfort of the poor parson. The King owned himself beaten, explained the situation, and apologised.

Allestree, however, reminded the King of many years' faithful service, both in the field and at Oxford, and received a promise of speedy promotion. Which he got.

The fine carved chairs seen in Election Hall date from Allestree's *régime*; the enthusiasm of the carvers for Royalty prevalent during the first ten years after the Restoration is shown in the knops of the uprights, fashioned as crowns, and in the roses immediately below them. Cherubs also support crowns in the cross-pieces at the top, and between the front legs. Of similar date is the shuffle-board table in Election Hall, at the screen end of which is fixed a tray or "swallowing dish" for the pieces to fall into if sent too far. Originally the table may have stood on the other side of the Hall, as on the screen at that end has been fixed a rough piece of wood, drilled with holes as though to take pegs for recording a score.

It would seem to have been during the Provostship of Zachary Cradock (1681-95) that the important interior alterations were made which are chiefly noticeable in Election Chamber, the Gallery, the Provost's study and the Audit Room, and from the outside in all the inserted sash windows with heavy bars. In Election Chamber and Election Hall the ceiling was raised by 2ft., though in the latter place it was carefully reproduced after the old one. In the former room the large, boldly moulded panels and cornices of the day were inserted together with the bolection moulded fireplace. The great door in Cloisters, beside the Gothic back door, is also of that date. An exceptional piece of work, of the same period, is the recessed wash-basin in what was formerly the entrance hall, though now the servants' hall. The way in which the walls of the niche are gathered into the springing of the arch is most unusual.

However, the date at which the Lodge took its present form was not till 1765. Already, in 1758, the top storey of Cloisters had been added, but in the latter year, when Barnard moved from Weston's to the Lodge, the north wing was added, which contains most of the Provost's present living-rooms, together with the magnificent collection of "leaving portraits" which Barnard, when he was Headmaster, was the first to ask for. It was in this year, too, that the clock was placed in its present position in the tower, the bells cast, and the cupolas added. To compensate for the loss of half the muniment room, and the uselessness of Bodmin as a bedchamber owing to the thuddings, whizzings and tickings of the clock, the Lodge was further augmented by the addition of two rooms on the north side of Cloisters, which form the eastern arm of the cross. Thus in 1765 the Provost practically doubled his accommodation. The drawing-room is a particularly charming addition, for by its lightness, as opposed to the antiquity of the older parts, it made the Lodge more typical of the brilliant young men who at that time, and for a century to come, were being educated at Eton. The days of the Boyles, Walpole and Pitt were gone, but they were unenlightened times. By 1760 the great Whig oligarchy had grown up, nurtured on governance, trained in the tradition of power, to any member of which the idea of not stepping from Eton, after a few years at the University and in foreign capitals, on to the floor of the House, whether of Lords or Commons, was inconceivable. Together with them, though with prospects less rosy, had been the scions of the old Tory aristocracy. Both sides, for all their wealth and birth, made good use of their time at Eton; the amount of work which even the least god-like of them managed to get through would astonish the young man of the present day. But they were the *élite* of England, and they knew it. They would be the governors



of a growing Empire; the excellent system of pocket boroughs assured it. Or if their elder brothers got the family seat, they would be the admirals, generals, judges, scholars and ambassadors. So they worked for the glory that they knew to be awaiting them.

The great position that Eton held at the end of the eighteenth century was largely due to Edward Barnard, Headmaster 1754 till 1765 and Provost till 1781. "Dr. Barnard," wrote Horace Walpole, "is the Pitt of schoolmasters, and has raised the school to the most flourishing state it ever knew." The friend of all the wits of his day—Johnson, Reynolds, Garrick and Foote—he had a sense of humour and a power of perception that raised him far above the pedagogues of his period. He, for instance, did not believe that the only ground on which a boy could be judged was his power of writing Latin verses, and it is perhaps for that reason that his drawing-room is filled with so many portraits of boys whose names are famous the world over. Indeed, it is difficult to gaze upon these noble young faces, caught by the greatest English painters before toil, disappointment, passion and debauchery had marred them, without a feeling of wonder that the Reform Bill of 1832 was ever necessary. But perhaps Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Thomas Lawrence could explain the problem; perhaps the idealism and ardour which seem to pervade each youthful face in reality never left the painter's studio. Perhaps Barnard's successors, who filled Election Chamber with the portraits of winners of the Newcastle, were the better judges of the kind of boy that makes a good man—but where are the Wellesleys, Foxes, and Whitbreads?

Où est-il ? Où est son tayan ?  
Mais où est le preux Charlemaigne !

They are in Dr. Barnard's Gallery. It was not until Warre's time that the Homeric element returned to Eton, but then there were no more leaving portraits.

Barnard's influence of the Grand Manner seems to have died with him. Provost Goodall was a pompous but not inspiring exception from the dull provosts who succeeded him. And Goodall had a hobby—into which went the enthusiasm with which Barnard and Warre used to fire their scholars. For the illumination of his hobby Goodall in 1816 seems to have inserted the large pointed window in the south end of the Cloister face of Election Hall, to light a room which he walled off from the rest of the Hall. What was it ? The reading of disreputable authors ? Surreptitious flogging ? Wine ? Let a letter of his own inform us :

At 56 a man may be indulged with a hobby; and what nag do you imagine that I have mounted ? Oriental literature I have disclaimed; Nimrod's propensities are not mine. To the black lettered bibliomaniacs I owe no allegiance. My limbs are not supple enough to become an active lepidopterist. I adorn my greenhouse and garden in moderation, but my rage is an accumulation of calcareous matter, generally known by the name of shells.

A conchologist !

## THE LIBRARY

IT is an unfortunate individual indeed who, set down in such a library as that of Eton College and given, as it were, the freedom of a book-city, is not able in a short time to become, as a native, acquainted with the oldest inhabitants and sufficiently familiar with their places on the shelves not to need the directions of a catalogue. One does not require to be a bibliophile to realise that there are no more agreeable companions than old books—if possible with dusty bindings and crackling leaves—for each one of them in a great library can tell you something besides its contents: why it came to live there, who first presented it and what changes have passed, if we may say so, before its back. Let us, therefore, of a winter's evening, transport ourselves in imagination from our own fireside to College Library, overlooking the Cloisters. Our musings may appear rambling to an impatient reader who has never wandered with the dilatoriness of a delighted book-worm from volume to volume. But if you will remember that in fancy we sit before the Library fire, with the good smell of leather in our nostrils, you will pardon haphazard leaps from century back to century.

The earliest manuscripts—the original Charter, for instance, with its great illuminated capital H in which the Lords and Commons are depicted giving their assent to the foundation of the College, the *Will* itself and the Bulls, signed with the leaden *bullæ* of Eugenius IV—these have had many adventures during the five hundred years of their life at Eton. The original Library, which in 1445 the Fellows reminded the King was empty or nearly so, would appear to have been in the eastern range of the cloister, and finished in that very year, together with five other chambers, which were then provided with locks and rings for the doors. The Provost, in this petition, asked the King to give instructions to John Pye, his stationer, to secure all the books he could and at as low a price, especially the great library of the Duke of Gloucester, though, as a matter of fact, it became the nucleus of the Bodleian at Oxford.

At some period the books seem to have been housed in the vestry, probably at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, when the need for human accommodation ejected them from their original home. In 1516, however, Roger Lupton began his library, now Election Hall, which we have just described. The books were probably moved thither about 1520, but their sojourn was brief, for in 1547 Sir Thomas Smith was appointed Provost by Protector Somerset, and, as we have related, converted the library into his dining-hall. The opportunity seems then to have been taken of getting rid of certain “superstitious books,” and there is a note of some being sold to John Pother, a bookbinder of Cambridge; but as he gave only forty shillings for them, the number so disposed of must either have been very small, or else, as seems the more likely, he bought them for their bindings, the contents being destroyed under the Act of Parliament that



rendered the possessors of old missals and breviaries liable to imprisonment and fines. Sale may have accounted for many of the books, neglect and speculation for the disappearance of many more, and though six labourers were employed in 1549 "on cleansing the new library"—which seems till 1679 to have been next Smith's kitchen, between that and Lower School—it is probably during the fifty years 1547-95 that were lost all save the two score pre-Reformation manuscripts now remaining.

It is difficult to conjecture the contents of the Eton Library before the Reformation. After its first setting up, when in 1445 Richard Chester was sent to divers parts of England, France and other countries in quest of books, many of the more studious sort of works seem to have been bequeathed by various masters and Fellows. There are three manuscripts, one of them a twelfth-century copy of St. Jerome's "Super Danielelem," given by William Weye, who is said to have died in 1476 in a monastery, whither he retired when the wars distressed England. He had been a Fellow, but varied his college life with three pilgrimages to the Holy Land and to Rome, preaching to a congregation of twenty-seven Englishmen at Jerusalem, and at the last writing an account (published by the Roxburghe Club) of all that he had seen in Italy, High Germany and Flanders, minute details of Palestine, and a guide and phrase book for future travellers. A copy of Boethius and some patristic books, bequeathed by a Fellow, John Borrow, also survive, and a dozen manuscripts given in 1535 by William Horman, master from 1486 till 1494, when he served in the same capacity at Winchester till, in 1502, he returned to Eton as a Fellow. They include an early twelfth-century "St. Augustini Quædam," a copy of the Nicomachean Ethics and two medical books. It is, however, as a teacher that Horman lives—in the pages of a booklet called "Vulgaria," two editions of which were printed by Pynson in 1519 and 1525. It is a phrase book, and many of the English sentences, followed by a flowery Latin equivalent, paint an agreeable picture of Horman presiding over the small boys in Lower School, gazing as wistfully as they through the windows at the inviting April sunlight. Here are a few: "The Tems is rysen. The master hath undone our rennyng into the Towne. I intende to rede you Tully, God spede us well. He begynneth to tell shrewed talys upon me to the master. He hyt me in the yie with a tenys ball. We will play with a ball full of wynde"; which latter is rendered: "Lusui erit nobis follis pugilari spiritu tumens."

One of the most interesting relics in the Library is an early sixteenth-century anthem book, written for College use. The anthems, which are for the most part antiphonal, vary from four to seven parts, and are a collection of the works of various composers, the most popular of whom seem to have been William Horwood, Richard Davy, Wm. Cornysch, John Brown, Walter Lamb, Rob. Fairfax and Rob. and John Wilkinson, who edited the work.

Soon after the death of Horman, one of the most picturesque figures in Eton history appeared as *Magister*—a Wykehamist, Nicolas Udall. As schoolmaster, Nicolas has come down to history as one of the flogging sort; Thomas Tusser ("Five Hundred Points of good Husbandry") thus refers to his schooldays under him:

For fault but small or none at all  
It came to pass thus beat I was;  
See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee  
To me poore lad!

In 1541, however, his career at Eton came to an abrupt conclusion, for a theft of plate from Chapel by two boys, assisted by Udall's servant, engaged the attention of the Privy Council, and though Nicolas was acquitted of complicity, he had to confess to the most scandalous immorality, and was dismissed under a cloud.

During the next ten years he worked hard as a translator, especially at the "Apophthegms" and "Paraphrases" of Erasmus, which latter was appointed to be set up in all churches by the Queen's injunction of 1559. Thus Udall was certainly a Protestant, even if we lacked other evidence, such as his collaboration with Leland in the writing of an Ode on the occasion of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn. Curious, then, that he was a close friend of Queen Mary, and possibly her tutor, in consequence of which in 1555 she gave him the headmastership of Westminster.

He was also, however, in 1553 appointed Court Dramatist, and it is as such that he has come down to us, the earliest predecessor of Shakespeare. His "Ralph Roister Doister," written for performance by his boys at Eton, where since 1525 the custom had prevailed of acting a Christmas play, must have been a welcome change from Plautus, Terence and, on the authority of Horman's sentences, "comedis of Greek." Though the characters of *miles gloriosus* and wily slave and the surprisingly finished technique of the play are classical, it is a vivid picture of the age, due allowance made for the influence of mediæval mystery which provided the jingling rhyme and the sub-title of "Interlude." Till 1825 it was thought that none of his work survived, though "Ralph" was known to have been printed in 1566, and a play, "Ezekias," by Udall, to have been given by Kingsmen before Elizabeth in 1564. In 1811, however, Thomas Briggs, an old Etonian, chanced to buy an early play without a title-page and presented it to Eton. Its subsequent ascription to Udall rests on a reference, in Sir Thomas Wilson's "Rule of Reason" (1553), to the ambiguity that can result from altered punctuation, an example of which he quotes from "an interlude made by Nicolas Udall," that turned out to be this very play. Thus quite by chance Eton became possessed of this unique copy of what is a very charming and joyous play and the connecting-link between mediæval mystery and the great age that culminated in Shakespeare.

To revert, however, to the Library. In 1595 Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, furthered by his friend Essex, was appointed Provost by the all-powerful Cecil. Hallam calls Savile the man, of his time, most learned in profane literature; he also considered himself nothing less, and wished it to be understood that the great Scaliger and he were stars of equal lustre. One of Savile's first cares was for the remaining books, which he collected and added to. Books, indeed, seem to have been the one thing this man cared for. "Sir Henry," once said poor Lady Savile, "I would that I were a book too, and then you would a little more respect me." "You must then," remarked one who stood near, "be an almanack, madam, that he might change every year." His wife had, however, one greatest enemy—the early father St. John Chrysostom, on whose works her husband expended both his health and wealth in collecting, collating and printing them. She even proposed, when Sir Henry was suffering from overwork, to make a martyr of the saint by burning him, for killing her husband.

In order to publish his Chrysostom Savile had to get a special stock of Greek type from the Continent, and to build a printing press which might be under his supervision; for this latter purpose he destroyed what remained of the original



almshouse and farm buildings that lined the Slough road and separated it from what is now Weston's Yard. The Founder—we have not treated of the matter before—had originally planned this “Stable Yard” to be the principal entrance, on the northern side of which he established a community of “bedesmen.” These seem to have disappeared during the critical years after his death, so that by Savile's time the place was literally a stable yard. Between 1603 and 1606, therefore, the existing gabled edifice with its seven curious chimneys was erected, in the southern end of which, now Savile House, the press was set up. The interior was adapted to later requirements long after the sale of Savile's type to Oxford University, in the early eighteenth century, and a century later became the residence of the Headmaster before he moved, in the person of Dr. Warre, to the north-east corner of the cloisters. A comparison of the back of Savile House with the eastern face of the Headmaster's present abode will show that the change was for the better.

Sir Henry Savile used to say, when he searched for assistants for his great work: “Give me your plodding student; if I would look for wits, I would go to Newgate; there be the wits.” His right-hand man, however, Richard Montague, turned out in later life to be anything but a plodder; as a controversial writer of such books as “A new Gag for an old Goose” he showed himself, as Fuller expresses it, possessed of great “tartness of writing, very sharp the nib of his pen and much gall in his inke”; but he left Eton in 1628 to succeed Bishop Carlton at Chichester.

At this time Sir Henry Wotton, one of the great family living at Boughton Malherbe in Kent, was Provost. Of his previous career as ambassador at Venice we wrote on page 18. The circumstances of his election were noteworthy on account of the multiplicity of candidates, among them the ex-Chancellor, Francis Bacon, Sir Richard Naunton, a former Secretary of State, and Sir William Beecher, Clerk of the Council, whose preferment the cynics suggested to be on the condition that he married the widow of his predecessor, Provost Murray, and “provided for her chickens,” though the former was considered to be a hard condition. But neither he nor Sir Robert Aytoun, who rested his claims on sympathy for his countrywoman, Murray's widow, nor Bacon nor the famous Dudley Carleton, were appointed, but Sir Henry Wotton. His portrait, in which his face is lighted by a whimsical smile, hangs in the Provost's Lodge; poor man! he was ever in pecuniary difficulties, for, as Izaak Walton said, he was so careless of money as though our Saviour's words “Care not for the morrow” were to be literally understood. His appointment rested largely upon his favour with Charles, since in his youth he had saved James I's life: being at that time in the service of the Great Duke of Florence, he had been sent to warn James, when King of Scotland only, of a dangerous plot against him, and to accomplish his mission had assumed the guise of an Italian musician. As a diplomat, his sense of humour on occasions got the better of his discretion, for Walton describes him as saying that an ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country. As a young man he had been secretary to the Earl of Essex, and also a poet, who, though his output was small, yet wrote those exquisite lines on the Queen of Bohemia that begin:

You meaner beauties of the night,—

As Provost he was a constant cherisher of the boys, a meditator on divinity, yet a cheerful host whose meat was choice and his discourse better. After tedious study

he would sit, sometimes with Izaak Walton, in a punt off the Playing Fields, and fish, for he held angling to be a rest to his mind, a cheerer of his spirits and a calmer of unquiet thoughts. He would rather, he said, live five May months than forty Decembers. To the library he was a great benefactor and presented many MSS., most of which he had acquired in Italy, the best from the library of Bernardo Bembo which remain among the rarest treasures.

Among the Fellows at this time was the "ever memorable" John Hales, one of the least men in the kingdom and one of the greatest scholars in Europe, a founder of the Latitudinarian school, and, at the same time, the friend of such men as Sir John Suckling. Although in his earlier days he had been a Calvinist, in later life he had no sympathy with the Puritan *régime* set up in 1644 by the appointment of Francis Rous as Provost. Rous, by a curious freak, although Provost at a time when, theoretically, there was no House of Lords, is yet the only peer who has held that office. It came about in this way: he was Speaker of that assembly called the "Barebones Parliament" of 1653, which, dissolving itself, surrendered all authority to the Protector. Cromwell rewarded the Speaker with a writ of summons to the Upper House when he re-established it, remarking that "he could not well do less than make that gentleman a Lord who had made him a Prince." Rous is, perhaps, best remembered as the author of the metrical translation of the Psalms which is still used in the Scottish Kirk. At Eton he is sometimes said to have planted the great elms of Upper Club and Triangle, though the audit books show that they were planted at various times throughout that century. He did, however, build the house called Weston's in 1650, that got its name from Dr. Weston, the Lower Master (1693-1705). Earlier buildings, no doubt, did stand on this site, and certain bits of masonry, incorporated in the present one, may, as tradition asserts, have formed part of Henry's almshouse.

At the Restoration "Lord" Rous was succeeded by Allestree, and little occurred which is unrelated in one of our previous chapters. In 1675 the books were again turned out from the library provided for them by Savile into the gallery next the Hall, in the south side of the Cloister, which has entirely disappeared. Here they lay, well arranged but congested owing to the narrowness of the gallery, until, in 1720, proposals were set on foot to build a regular library. It was at one time intended to build an octagonal one in Brewhouse Yard, at the east end of Chapel, apparently something on the lines of the Radcliffe Camera at Oxford. This, however, was abandoned in favour of the present structure, suggested by Rowland, who was at that time engaged in rebuilding the Hall, and executed by him in 1725-28. The original south walk of the Cloisters, presumably similar to the rest, was pulled down, and a more classical arcade set up some ten feet further to the north. Above it, and running parallel to the Hall, a triple library was constructed, the square central portion containing the fireplace and a ceiling of plain yet elegant modelling. Here, during the eighteenth century, were accumulated by bequest a remarkable collection of books and MSS.: A Mazarin Bible, bound by Johannes Fogel of Erfurt (1455), the only copy of which the binding bears his stamp; the Topham Collection of original drawings after the antique; a very large collection of early plays left by Anthony Morris Storer, whose fine bequest also included a mass of early Italian literature, incunabula and Aldines; and "Jack Drum's Entertainment," for a similar copy of which £600 was recently given. These are but a few of the



treasures. Storer also bequeathed a beautiful collection of mezzotints after Sir Joshua Reynolds.

After looking at this rich store of volumes, rare manuscripts, school books used and scribbled in by famous men when young, and regiments of staple authors sleeping on their shelves, it is good to walk, in the warmer seasons of the year, from this quiet habitation of wisdom up to Sheep's Bridge and Sixth Form Bench. Thence to survey that river where for Wotton—

The jealous trout, that low did lie,  
Rose to the well-dissembled fly,

and in such a posture, though it be now a well-nigh forgotten art, to meditate on that unchanging stream of youth which, like the sleepy Thames, has flowed through Eton for so many hundred years.

## THE COLLEGE PLATE

FROM the evidence of the account books and inventories taken at various times Eton was well stocked with plate during the first century of its existence. An inventory taken early in the sixteenth century mentions sixty-three silver spoons presented by Thomas Bekynton, who interested himself deeply in the foundation of the College. They bore his initials "T B" on either side of an episcopal cross, indicating that they were given after his appointment to the see of Bath and Wells in 1443. Many of the Fellows presented secular plate, and the Chapel would seem to have been singularly rich in possessions. The earliest piece, however, that survives is the "Coconut Cup," shown in Fig. 1, and given in about 1510 by John Edmonds, who, elected a Fellow in 1491, was transferred to the prebend of Bloomsbury in 1509, and eight years later was made Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral. The cup, which stands  $8\frac{1}{4}$  ins. high, bears the legend, pricked on the lip band: "Ex dono mri Johis. Edmonds theologie professoris quondam socii hujus collegii." In its stem is evident the tree-trunk *motif* that appears so frequently in fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century cups, the use of a nut as the bowl rendering it an obvious analogy in the case of coconut cups. The most noteworthy feature is the straps that connect lip-band and calyx; they represent, apparently, honeysuckle on a bough, and have in the middle of each a little stamp mounted in twisted wirework. These are engraved with gillyflowers and were formerly enamelled, though only a fragment remains on one of them—the one shown in the illustration where the enamel looks dark at the bottom of the stamp.

In 1546 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners weighed and valued the secular and Chapel plate, finding that of the former there were no less than 2,314 oz., of which all was gilt save only 152 oz., and of the latter to the value of £373. By 1550, however, most of the church plate had disappeared, and in 1553 the Privy Council decided that four out of the five remaining chalices should be converted "from monuments of superstition to necessarie uses," the College thus obtaining "some plate for the Buttarie" in the shape of silver wine pots, jugs and bowls.

William Day, Provost 1561–96, the predecessor of Sir Henry Savile, so far from adding to the store of plate, seems to have depleted it, for there are frequent mentions in the audit books of consignments being sent to him at Queenhithe, near the Tower—for those were the days when the Provost lived much in London. Whether the silver thus "borrowed" ever returned cannot be ascertained; probably not.

William Clavering, elected a Fellow in 1597, gave a silver tazza of Dutch design, but this, together with a silver-gilt flagon presented by Lady Savile, now serves as Communion plate in the church of Worplesdon in Surrey, and has done this century or more. How they got there has never been determined.

Another Fellow, contemporary with Clavering, was Adam Robyns, who died in 1613 and left £100 for the purchase of tapestry for the Hall and for a ewer and dish.



Examples of the latter (Fig. 4) were very shortly sent to Eton on approval by William Terry of Lombard Street; information which we get from the audit books, for there is no maker's mark. Whether Terry ever used a mark is also unknown, but Cripps mentions "a cup, repoussé with marine monsters in medallions" at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, dated 1607, and marked with a T rising from the middle of a W. It is just possible that Terry is the "WT" (unless it is "TW") of Corpus. The dish, measuring  $19\frac{1}{5}$  ins. across, the rim elevated  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. from the level, consists of four members, the centre one being a boss enamelled with the arms and graven in record of the gift raised on a double tier of egg and tongue moulding. Surrounding it is a ring of ornament in which knots of fruit separate three cartouches containing dolphins. These *motifs* are repeated on the rim, and the dolphins recur in the coved member, where a less common feature appears—namely, the three scallops. The groundwork of the two outer members is covered with flat chasing, which at this time—1606–1616—was at the height of its popularity; after that date it yielded to the simpler tastes that reviving Classicism introduced, though it is found so late as the Protectorate on small and cheap pieces of plate. At Sidney Sussex College is another rosewater dish and ewer of remarkably similar design, though marked "RW" over a pellet, and dated 1606–07.

A most remarkable dish and ewer are shown in Fig. 3. Although only eleven years separate it in date from the foregoing specimen, the style is so different that it is difficult at first to believe the evidence of the excellent hall-marks for the year 1624. Sir H. Maxwell-Lyte gives a woodcut of these articles and has mistaken the "g" of 1624 for the black-letter "b," inverted, of 1697, although there is no sign of the Britannia or lion's head erased mark. There is, however, some excuse for this error, for the ewer is a clumsy attempt at the helmet shape then being used on the Continent, but which did not reach England until 1690. The dish,  $14\frac{1}{10}$  ins. broad,  $19\frac{1}{5}$  ins. long, the rim  $2\frac{1}{5}$  ins. above the level, bears the maker's mark "RS" over a heart which is found on a Communion flagon at Bodmin dated 1620. The only foot is the cavity in the base of the dish—an unsatisfactory substitute for the flutings used in the previous decade. The ewer,  $11\frac{1}{5}$  ins. to the knop on the handle, the foot  $4\frac{1}{5}$  ins. in diameter, the mouth  $4\frac{7}{10}$  ins. broad and  $5\frac{7}{10}$  ins. long, though of the same date, is marked "RD" over a crescent, a very rare mark, but which Sir C. J. Jackson has found on a small cup dated 1622–23 belonging to Messrs. Christie. Altogether, this pair of objects is most unusual, both as to the shape of the dish and of the ewer. Its plainness, too, is very early—James I was not yet dead.

Simplicity, however, continued for nearly forty years to be popular, and is well shown in the salt presented by Sir Nicolas Hobart, a former scholar, in 1656, thus initiating a custom of leaving presents that after the Restoration was to flourish at the Universities for over a century. This type of salt, with horns to receive a folded napkin or plate to protect the salt from falling dust, became popular at this date, and was only superseded by the smaller cellars that became customary when dining took place in ceiled rooms, where floating cobwebs, spiders and dirt were less frequent than in open-roofed halls.

Before describing the post-Restoration plate we must notice the series of three chalices and patens presented to the Chapel. In design they are all practically the same as the one illustrated in Fig. 2, saving for the ruff-like calyx and the chasing.

The earliest, marked for 1624, maker's mark "TF" combined, measures  $11\frac{3}{10}$  ins. high; the latest, apparently marked for 1651 or 1653—a very unusual date for a chalice—maker's mark "RS" with a star above and below, was presented in 1624 by John Barker. This pre-presentation is frequently met with in old plate. Either the money left was unused, or an earlier object, presented at that date, was converted into something else. In this case, as one chalice we know was obtained in 1624, it seems probable that only after a chalice then existing had been sacrificed to the cause of Puritanism was it decided to spend the money in replacing the deficiency. The chalice and paten shown in Fig. 2 is marked 1629 and "IP" in a shield, standing  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high, and the mouth  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in diameter. We see once again a restrained flat chasing, and, most exceptional on such a vessel, four most secular medallions of Dutch aspect: two bonneted women, a hero, and a man in the tall hat of the period. Probably the chasing was by a German or Dutch artist. While on the subject of German work, the College has recently been given a peculiar object known as "Joseph and His Brethren," from the subject of its ornamentation. This is shown in Fig. 6. It is of salver form, and is here seen from above. Some 12 ins. in diameter, it rests on a circular foot pierced with quatrefoils; the upturned outer rim is 2 ins. from the level. In the centre a mound, encrusted with ornament, rises from a circular groove and is surmounted by an apparently later boss engraved with a late eighteenth-century coat of arms issuing from a wreath of bay leaves. From the costume of the figures and the mixture of Renaissance pedestals with Gothic quatrefoil this would seem to be of a date approximate to 1530–40, and made possibly at Augsburg. There is a somewhat similar "platter" in the Waddesdon Bequest at the British Museum.

There is no indication that wholesale requisitions of plate were made at Eton, as at Oxford, during the Civil Wars. No doubt, had Charles ever got permanent possession of the place, he would have appealed to the Royal College for assistance in the time of his adversity. Eton, however, lay securely in the Parliament's sphere of influence, and the system of appeals and the giving of receipts problematically guaranteeing future repayment was not resorted to by the Roundheads. It would appear, however, that the College contributed its quota to that side in whose possession it lay. Rous, who was appointed Provost in 1644, was an ardent Puritan and of no little eminence in Parliamentary circles (he was Speaker of the Barebones Parliament of 1653). Bearing this fact in mind and noticing the absence of a great deal of the plate with which the College must then have been possessed, we are inclined to suspect that the Provost was open-handed with the College's goods in support of the cause that he espoused.

Although Eton is richer in pre-Civil War plate than most of the colleges at either University, it is far poorer in work of the period that succeeded the Restoration. Nearly every college at Oxford has at least one object presented between the years 1660 and 1680. At Eton, however, there is nothing. A steeple cup, without a steeple, has indeed been recently presented to the College, but it would appear to be of German work and not very good of its type, being light, and the ornament lacking the crispness that we expect at that period. It bears the London date letter for 1673, but is inscribed, "The gift of John Hill 1647." The history of this cup prior to its presentation to the College by Mr. Fairbank in 1919 is unknown. It would appear to have been brought to England in 1673, and stamped, as was sometimes the custom, with the London date later. As to the inscription, it is probably another example



of that pre-presentation which we have mentioned already with regard to a chalice. The suggestion that the date is an error for 1674 possibly explains the problem, but 1647 is more in accord with the probable date of the cup.

The beer mug shown in Fig. 9 is the earliest piece of post-Restoration plate to be presented to and preserved by the College. It bears the date letter for 1700, and the mark of Samuel Hoode, first entered at Goldsmiths' Hall in 1697 ("H O" under a crown, though in this example the side bars of the crown have been worn away so that at first it looks like a fleur-de-lys). It is of the quart-pot size, standing  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high and measuring  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. across the mouth. This type of mug is first found during the days of the Commonwealth, though specimens of that early date are rare and, therefore, extremely valuable. Most colleges and corporations have one or more, the earliest usually having been made during the last thirty years of the century, though the pattern has never wholly been dropped by makers.

The fine helmet-shaped ewer shown in Fig. 7 was made in the following year, 1701. We have already seen an early version of this shape, made in 1624 and illustrated above. That, however, was an exceptionally early example, and ewers such as this one were practically unknown in England before 1690, when silversmiths of the Huguenot persuasion, driven out of France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1686, coming to settle in England, brought this French pattern of ewer with them: 1690 is the date of the earliest surviving specimen, which is in the Royal collection. Fine ones were made throughout the succeeding decade for great men of the time, such as the Dukes of Marlborough and Devonshire, by Frenchmen, of whom David Willaume, Peter Harrache, Henri Auguste and Pierre Platel are the best known. English silversmiths, however, seem not to have tried their hands at this design until 1701, when George Boothby, who worked at the sign of the Parrot, produced this ewer. His mark, a parrot over "B O," is very uncommon, though his later one, the parrot over "G B," is found occasionally round about 1720. This specimen of his work, equal to anything that the Frenchmen could produce, stands 10 ins. high to the top of its boldly scrolled handle, and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. to the rim of the spout. The boldly worked bay leaves of the calyx are reminiscent of the cut card work popular twenty years earlier, which itself was an adaptation of the acanthus calyces of earlier Carolean times. Cut card work had been necessitated by the increasing thinness of vessels, a thinness consequent upon the enormous demand for plate of an ostentatious appearance as opposed to solid worth. It was a period when profusion was mistaken for wealth. In 1696, however, Montague had sprung his scheme for the reform of the currency, and in consequence the standard of sterling silver was raised, whence, the consistency being softer, the work had to be more solid to bear average wear and tear, and the more staid lines familiar in work of the Queen Anne period became fashionable. The ewer in question, though made by an Englishman, yet bears the ornament beneath its spout, known as "auricular" work, used frequently by the famous Adam Van Vianen of Utrecht early in the seventeenth century. Five *tazze* from his workshops were formerly in the Hamilton Palace collection of silver. That his influence was strongly felt in England during the latter half of the seventeenth century is apparent, not only from the application of these "auricular" scrolls by Boothby in 1701, but from their appearance in the handles of two tankards, formerly in the Earl of Warrington's collection dispersed at Christie's in the summer of 1921. These were made by T. Issod as early as 1671, and, as Mr. Avray Tipping pointed

out at the time, only the evidence of the marks prevents their being assigned to Flemish workmen. In this case, however, the general appearance is French, and the relic of Van Vianen's work is the only touch of Flemish influence.

The dish, which is used as a companion to the ewer, bears a single lily engraved on its rim, Fig. 11, as does the ewer—just to the right of the spout. The dish, measuring  $21\frac{3}{10}$  ins. across, the rim being 2 ins. above the level, was made in Augsburg, apparently late in the seventeenth century. A maker's mark "C W" may, however, be that of Christian Winter, working in 1737, in which case the pair, for a pair they have always been, cannot have been presented much before 1740. This dish is an interesting example of how the Dutch influence had penetrated up the Rhine and modified the heavy German sprightliness which we associate with Augsburg.

The College possesses a good flat-topped tankard dated 1706, made by William Fawdery, and presented by Nicolas Cordell, D.D., formerly a Fellow. It stands 6 ins. high,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in diameter at its base, and  $4\frac{9}{10}$  ins. at its mouth.

The next object in date to be made, though not presented, is the great tray which formerly belonged to the Marquess of Lincolnshire, whose arms it bears, and presented by him on the occasion of the visit of the Etonian generals to their school after the War. With the date letter for 1718, it bears the mark, apparently, of Pierre Platel, though a double stamping has rendered the identification a little doubtful. The work, however, is typical of the French silversmiths in its floridness, which was ill restrained even by the Britannia standard, and which was to run riot in the thirties and forties among the *rocailles* of French taste. In this example of Platel's later work the execution is very delicate, though the lines are much too busy. Each corner of the tray is formed by a lion's head, in front of which a Cupid in high relief plays with wreaths of flowers. The length of the tray is 26 ins., the breadth  $20\frac{1}{2}$  ins.

In 1728 some plate of utilitarian purpose was procured. It included a pair of sauce boats (Fig. 12) and a quartet of jugs (Fig. 8), all from the workshops of Francis Nelme, whose mark (entered in 1722) is shown inset in Fig. 12. The sauce boat, made with side handles and double spouted, shows that the custom was still to pass round the gravy from guest to guest, a practice that came in during Anne's reign, but died out soon after this with the increase of men-servants and the consequent "handing" of the sauce or gravy. A small trencher salt made by John Bignell was also acquired in this year, of which it bears the date letter.

The last piece of plate to be illustrated is the soup tureen shown in Fig. 10. Dated 1741, it bears the third mark (entered in 1739) of Paul Lamerie. Though not of unusual design (there is a larger one almost exactly similar at Oriel College, Oxford), it is a fair example of Lamerie's work, though the execution of the lion's masks and the legs is somewhat rough. This one measures 18 ins. long,  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ins. broad, and 11 ins. to the top of the handle on the lid. It is a good specimen of Georgian design, free from rococotry, though, as already suggested, not of first-class workmanship.

The remainder of the College plate, while serviceable, is not of surpassing interest. There is, however, one important exception, a model in silver of College Chapel, presented by William IV, who in his queer way was very fond of Eton. But as we have examined the Chapel in some detail already, it has been thought permissible to omit the model.



## THE PLATES







SCHOOL YARD AND LUPTON'S TOWER.

*The end of Lower School is seen on the left, and the gable of College Hall on the right. The statue of Henry VI, by Francis Bird, was set up by Provost Godolphin in 1719.*







COLLEGE FIELD.



UPPER SCHOOL, LOOKING THROUGH INTO SCHOOL YARD.







LOOKING DOWN LOWER SCHOOL.

*The Spanish chestnut pillars were set up by Sir Henry Wotton in Charles I's reign.*







IN LOWER SCHOOL.

*The curious wavy-topped balustrade divides the aisles in two.*







LOOKING UP LOWER SCHOOL.



THE SEAT OF THE "OSTIARIUS."







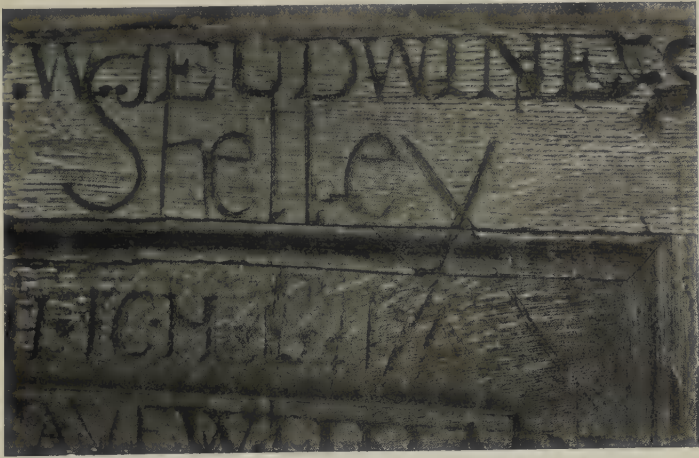
UPPER SCHOOL, LOOKING SOUTH.



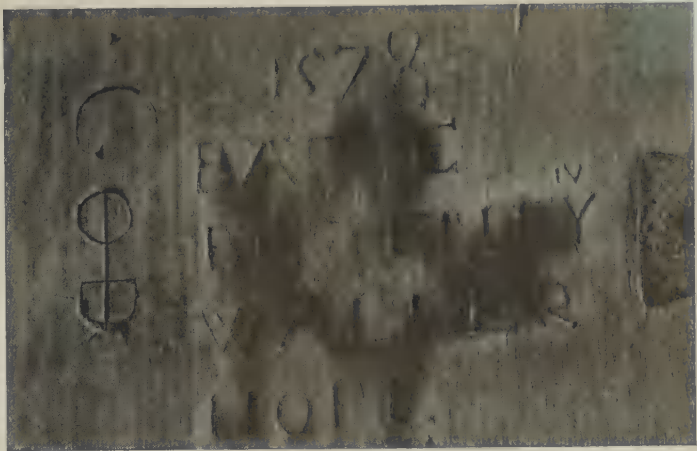
THE DOOR FROM UPPER SCHOOL TO CHAPEL STAIRS.



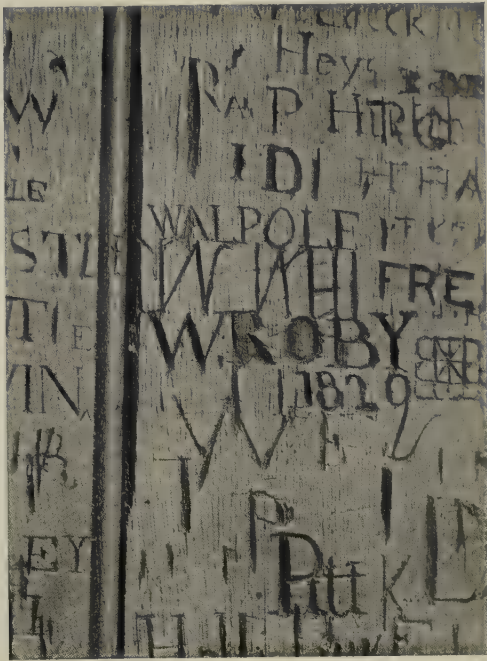




SHELLEY'S NAME IN UPPER SCHOOL.



EARLY NAMES ON A SHUTTER IN LOWER SCHOOL.



SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S AND WILLIAM PITT'S NAMES IN UPPER SCHOOL.



AN INK-RUN ON A DESK IN LOWER SCHOOL.

*The handiwork of generations of Etonians.*







STAIRCASE TO UPPER SCHOOL, NORTHERN END.

*Hundreds of names crowd upon the panelling.*







THE CHAPEL FROM THE WATER MEADOWS.



THE NORTH DOOR OF THE CHAPEL WITH THE ORIGINAL FIVES COURT.







FROM THE OLD CHRISTOPHER

*Through an autumn filigree of golden leaves.*







THE CHAPEL FROM THE ROOF OF LONG CHAMBER.







WAYNFLETE'S NORTH DOOR, WITH THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY STAIRS TO UPPER SCHOOL  
AND ANTECHAPEL.







THE CHAPEL.





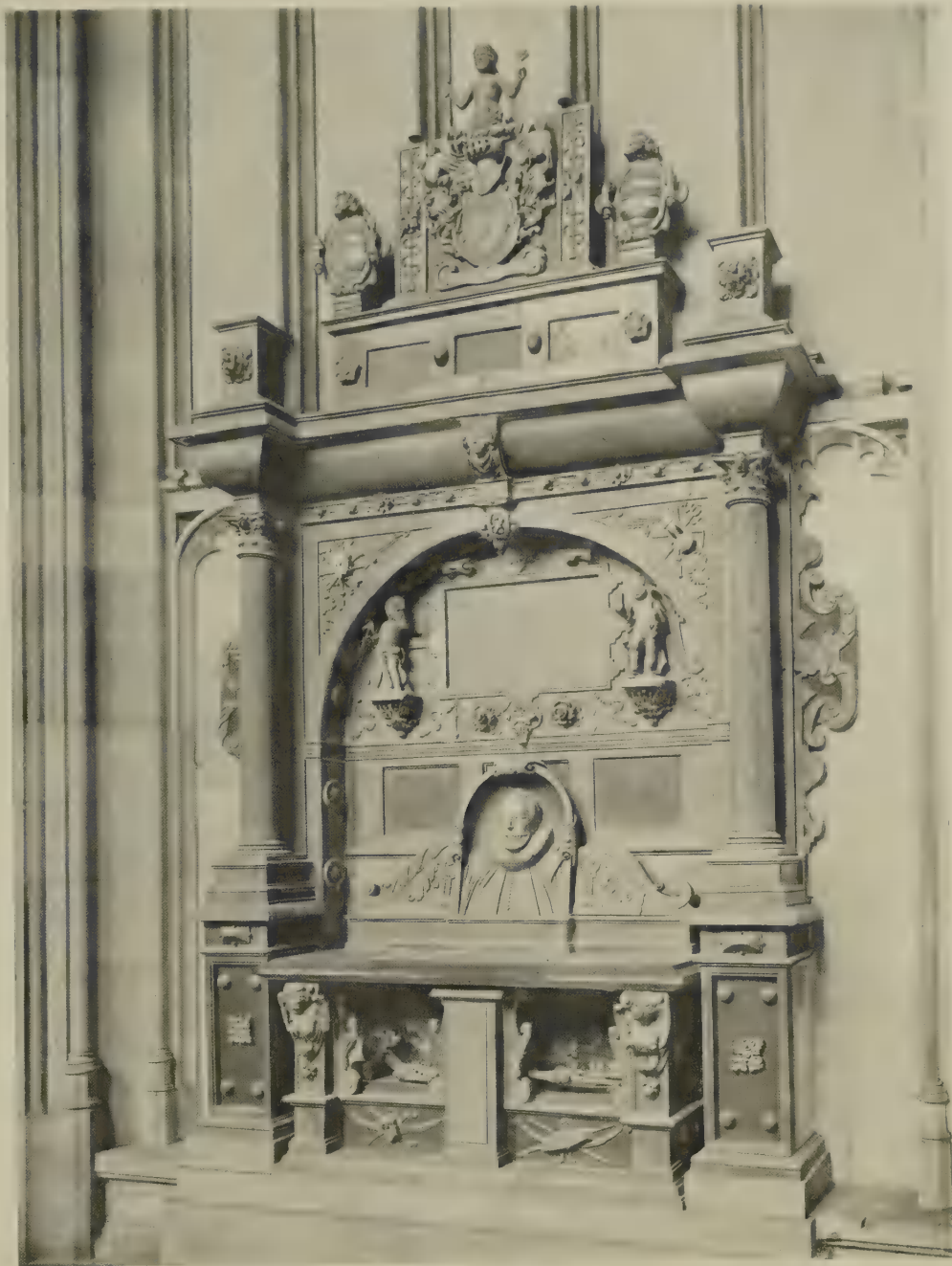


LUPTON'S CHAPEL.

*His rebus is on the spandrels of the door, his arms upon the pendant boss in the ceiling.*







PROVOST MURRAY'S TOMB (1624) AT THE EAST END OF CHAPEL.



ACKERMANN'S VIEW OF THE ANTECHAPEL, CIRCA 1811.







WINDSOR AND ETON.



PINNACLES AND BATTLEMENTS. LUPTON'S TOWER BELOW THEM.







COLLEGE HALL, FROM BREWHOUSE YARD.

*Note on this southern face the sudden cessation of Henry's stonework. On the left is the "Sluice" Tower, on the right a corner of the eighteenth-century brewhouse.*







CLOISTER PUMP AND HALL STEPS.

*Showing the arcading of 1728, above which is the Library.*







HALL STEPS.

*The original four-centred arch was cut away in 1691 when the steps were rebuilt.*



SOUTH FACE OF THE HALL.

*Showing the truncated buttresses and eighteenth-century brickwork.*







COLLEGE HALL, LOOKING WEST.



LOOKING EAST.







ONE OF THE FOUNDER'S FIREPLACES IN HALL.



THE ORIEL WINDOW IN HALL.

*The ceiling and arch of wood in default of stone. Note the reading grille.*







IN THE BUTTERY.

*Bread bins and the butler's seat (1728).*



THE BUTTERY WINDOW.







THE KITCHEN.

*Fireplaces, probably 1450; the octagonal lantern roof, 1508.*



THE NORTHERN ENTRANCE TO CLOISTERS.

*The window, since converted into a door, is comparable with the unfinished Hall windows.*



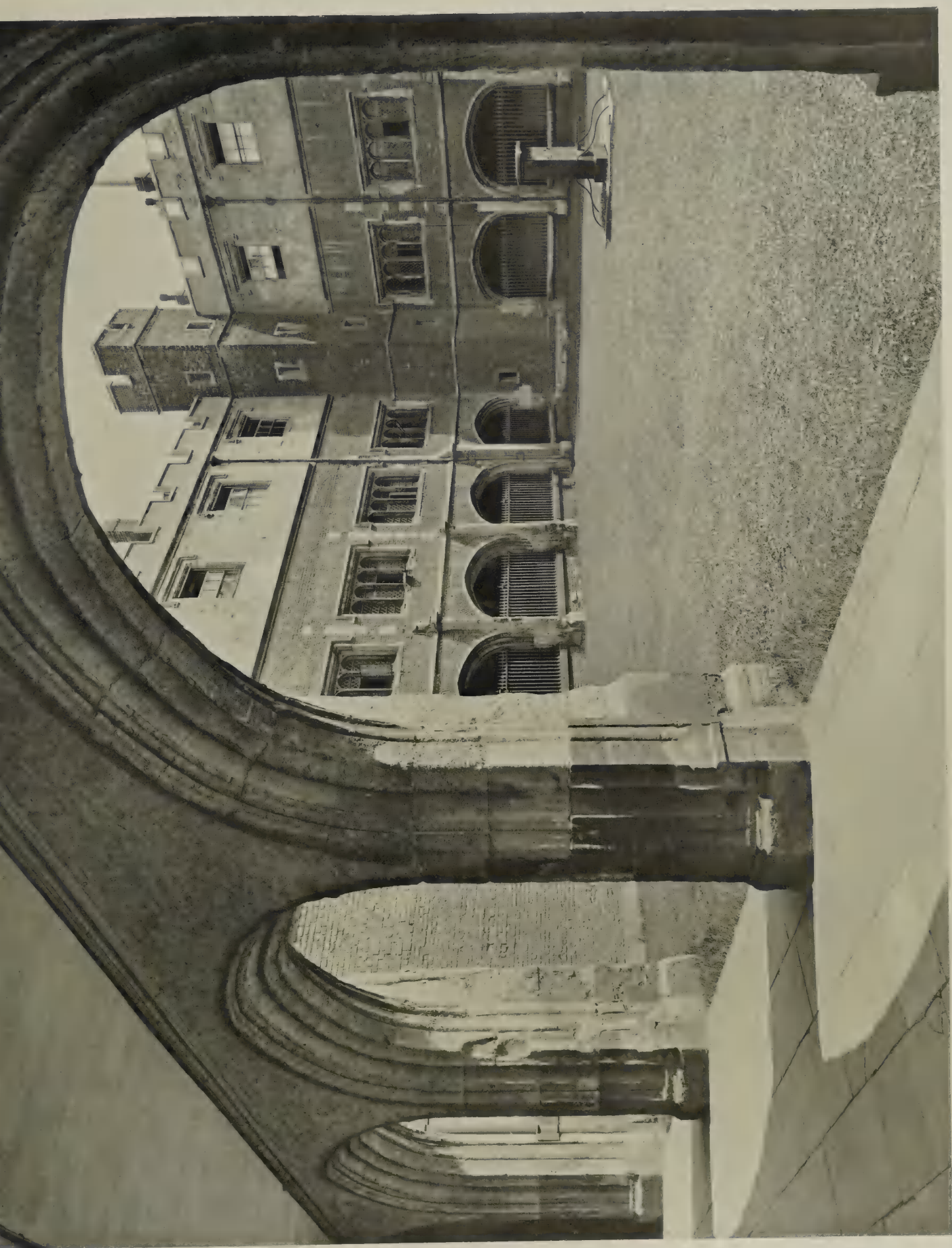




ENTRANCE TO THE PROVOST'S LODGE FROM PLAYING FIELDS.







THE CLOISTERS.

*From beneath Lupton's Tower. The 1758 additions can be clearly seen.*







PARLOUR STAIRS.



ELECTION HALL.







ELECTION HALL.

*Built by Lupton as a library. Converted by Sir Thomas Smith (1549) into a dining-hall.*







THE PARLOUR ("MAGNA PARLURA").



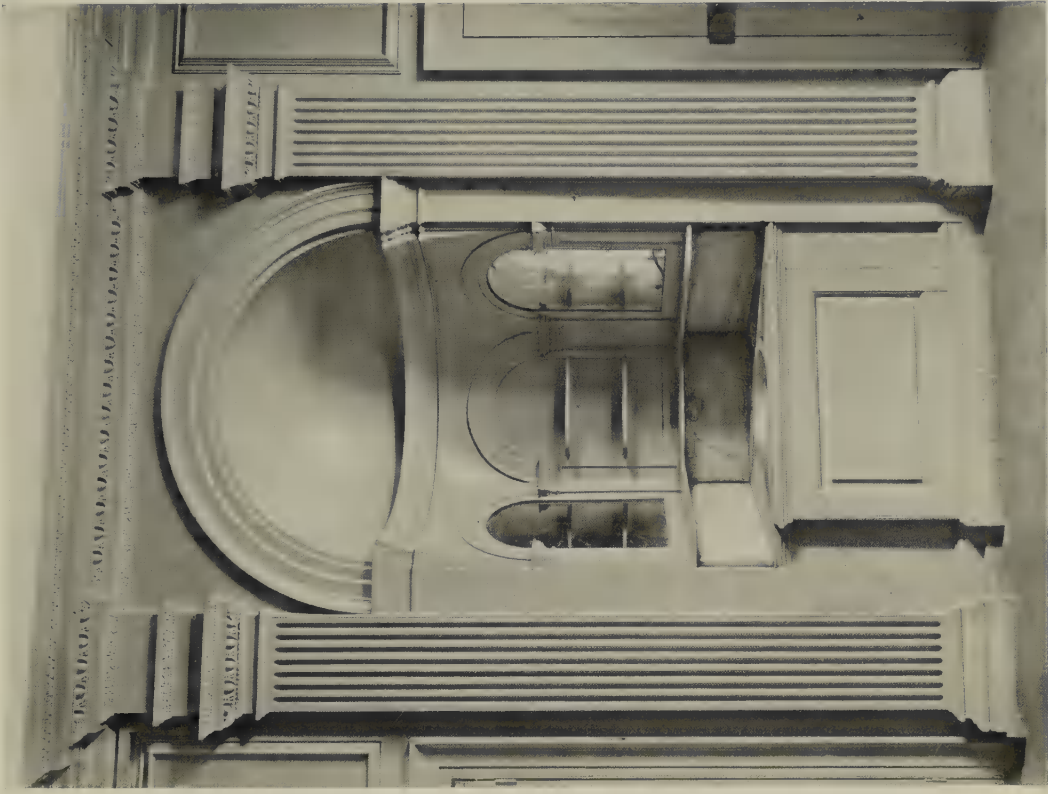
OVER THE PARLOUR FIREPLACE.

*The Founder's portrait.*





GALLERY FROM PARLOUR.



WEST END OF SERVANTS' HALL.







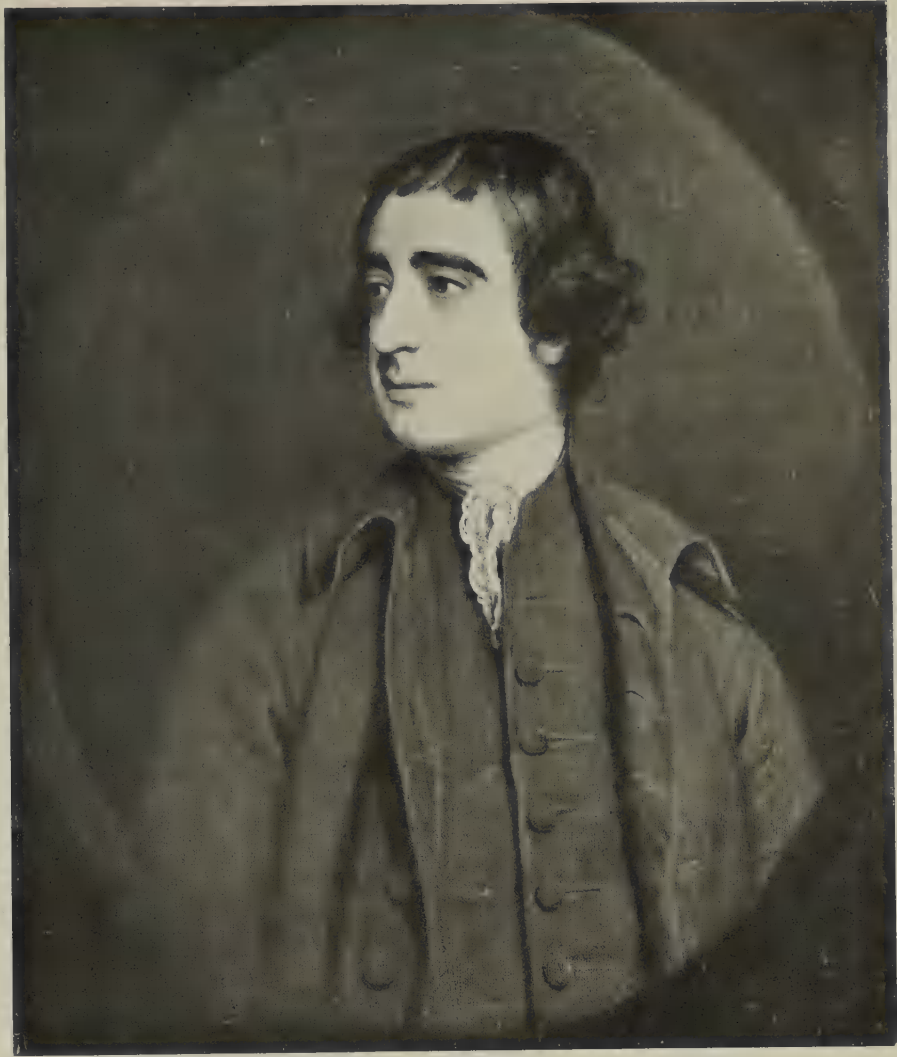
THE DRAWING-ROOM.



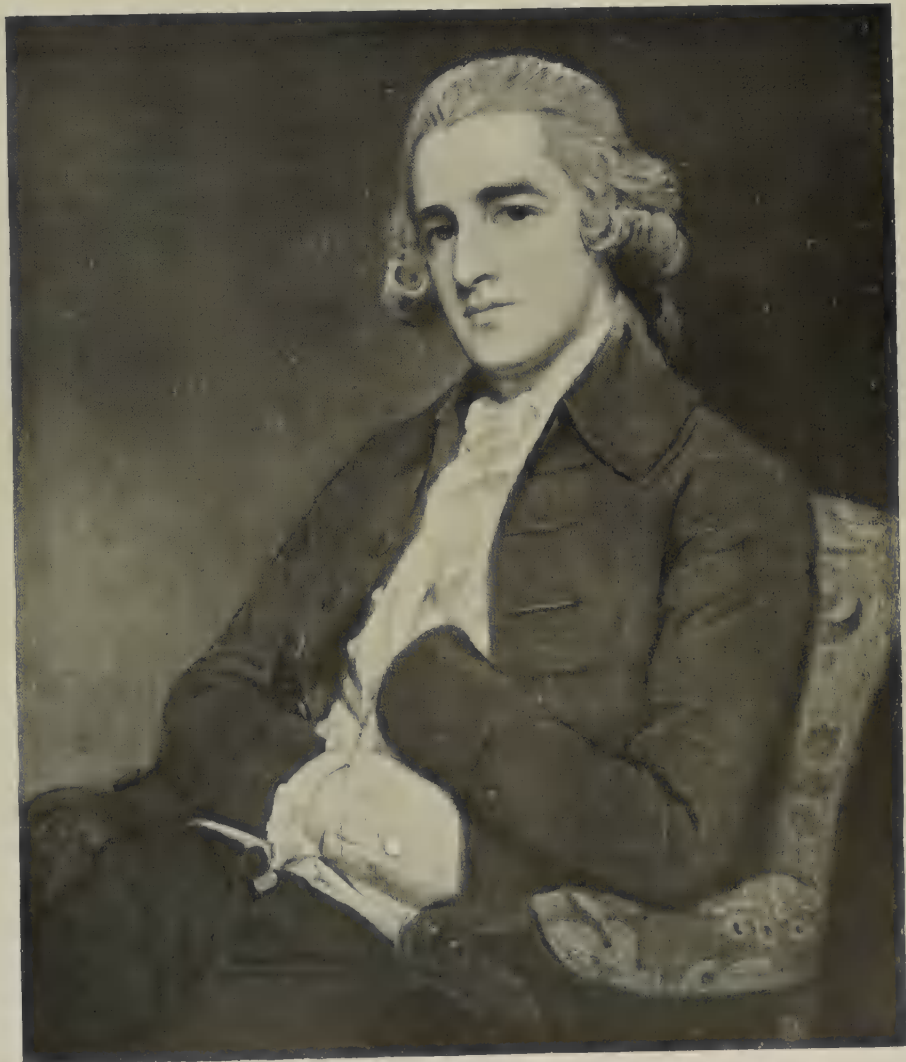
A CORNER OF THE DRAWING-ROOM.





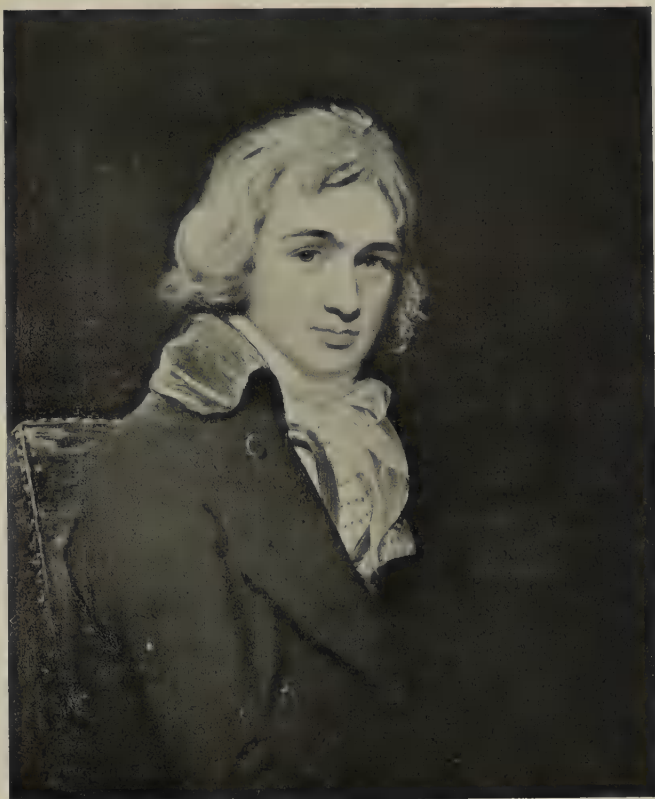


THE HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX.  
Entered Eton 1578. Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. *Sittings 1762, 1764-65.*



RICHARD COLLEY, VISCOUNT WELLESLEY.  
Entered Eton 1771. Painted in 1781 by George Romney.





HENRY HALLAM.

*Entered Eton 1789. Painted in 1795 by  
Sir William Beechey.*



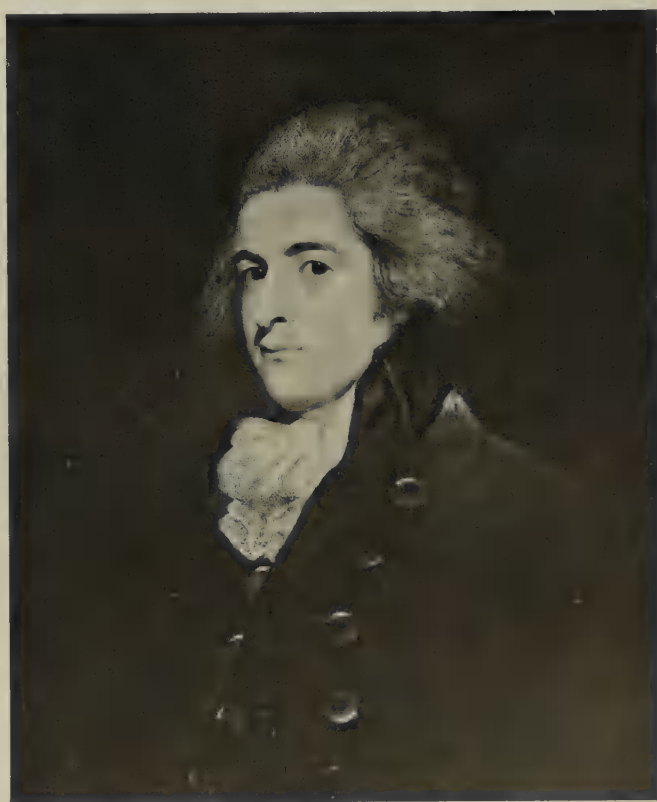
SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

*Entered Eton 1775. Painted in 1781 by  
George Romney.*



HON. WILLIAM LEGGE.

*Entered Eton 1797. Painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence.*



JOHN BLIGH, FOURTH EARL OF DARNLEY.

*Entered Eton 1775. Painted in 1787 by  
Sir Joshua Reynolds.*







WINDSOR CASTLE FROM THE CHAPEL ROOF.



SEVEN CHIMNEYS.

*The back of Savile House, from the Slough Road.*







SOME STAPLE AUTHORS SLEEPING ON THEIR SHELVES.

*College Library, looking east.*







COLLEGE LIBRARY.

*The central portion, showing the simple design of the ceiling—purely English unaffected by rococo.*













SIR THOMAS SMITH.



SIR HENRY WOOTTON.



"LORD" ROUS.



PROVOST ALLESTREE.





SIR HENRY SAVILE.

*The portraits of Provosts Wootton, Rous and Savile, together with the four "leaving pictures" on page 72, are reproduced by kind permission of the author and publishers, from Dr. Cust's "Eton College Portraits" (Messrs. Spottiswoode and Co.).*







KEATE, IN UPPER SCHOOL.











TWIN DOORS OF THE 1443 CLOISTER.

*Showing the diamond stops and foliated stop (much eroded) between the doors.*



THE EAST FRONT OF THE COLLEGE.

*Here again the upper floor, added in 1758, can be seen.*





POETS' WALK.



SIXTH FORM BENCH.  
JORDAN MEETING THAMES.



SHEEP'S BRIDGE.









WESTON'S, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

*Built by "Lord" Rous in 1650.*



"REGARDLESS OF THEIR DOOM THE LITTLE VICTIMS PLAY."

*So moralised Gray, so, perhaps, does Waynflete in his niche on Antechapel looking down Keate's Lane.*





1.—COCOANUT CUP.

*Circa 1510. Presented by John Edmunds. Height  $8\frac{1}{4}$  ins.*



2.—CHALICE AND PATEN, 1629.

*Maker's mark I P in a shield. Height  $11\frac{1}{2}$  ins.  
Note the chased medallions.*







3.—HELMET EWER AND OVAL DISH, 1624.

*Ewer 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Maker's mark R D over a crescent. Dish 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 14 $\frac{1}{16}$ ins. Maker's mark R S over a heart. A most exceptional pair both in plainness and shape.*



4.—EWER AND DISH, 1613. BY WILLIAM TERRY.

*Diameter of dish, 19ins. Greatest height of ewer, 15ins. Note the appliqué mask on the latter.*







5.—SALT, 1656.

*Greatest height,  $6\frac{4}{5}$  ins. Width,  $8\frac{1}{10}$  ins.*



6.—“JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.”

*Salver, diameter 12 ins. Circa 1530-40. Possibly from Augsburg.*





7.—HELMET-SHAPED EWER, 1701. BY GEORGE BOOTHBY.

*Height, to top of handle, 10ins.; to tip of spout, 9½ins.*







8.—PLAIN JUG, ONE OF FOUR, 1728. BY FRANCIS NELME.



9.—BEER MUG, 1700. BY SAMUEL HOODE.







10.—SOUP TUREEN, 1741.  
BY PAUL LAMERIE.

*Length, 18ins.; breadth, 10½ins.;  
total height, 11ins.*

11.—ROSEWATER DISH. AUGSBURG,  
FIRST QUARTER EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

*Diameter, 21 $\frac{3}{10}$ ins.*



12.—SAUCE BOAT, ONE OF A PAIR,  
1728. BY FRANCIS NELME.



THE SEAL OF ETON (1474).

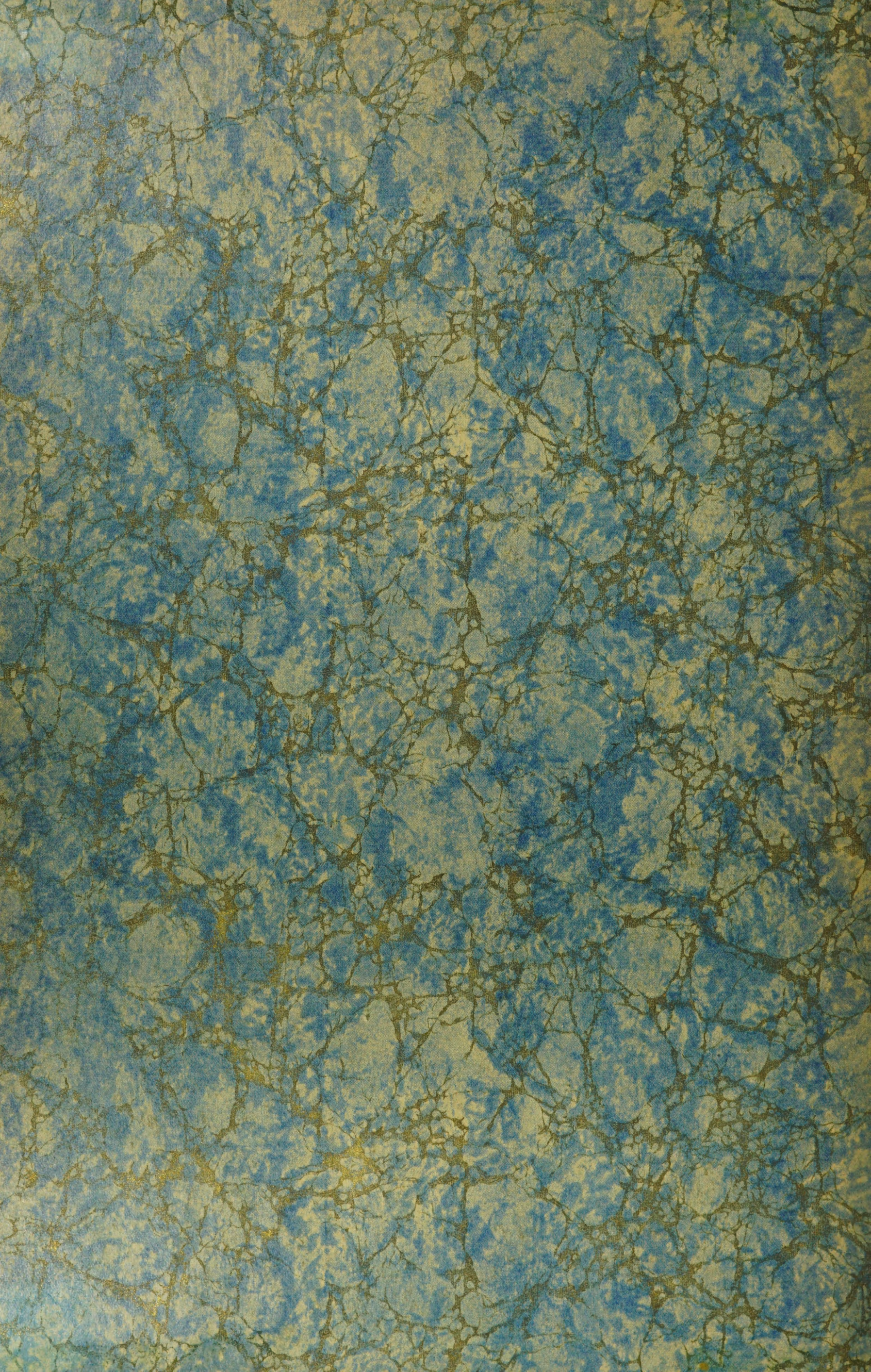














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